NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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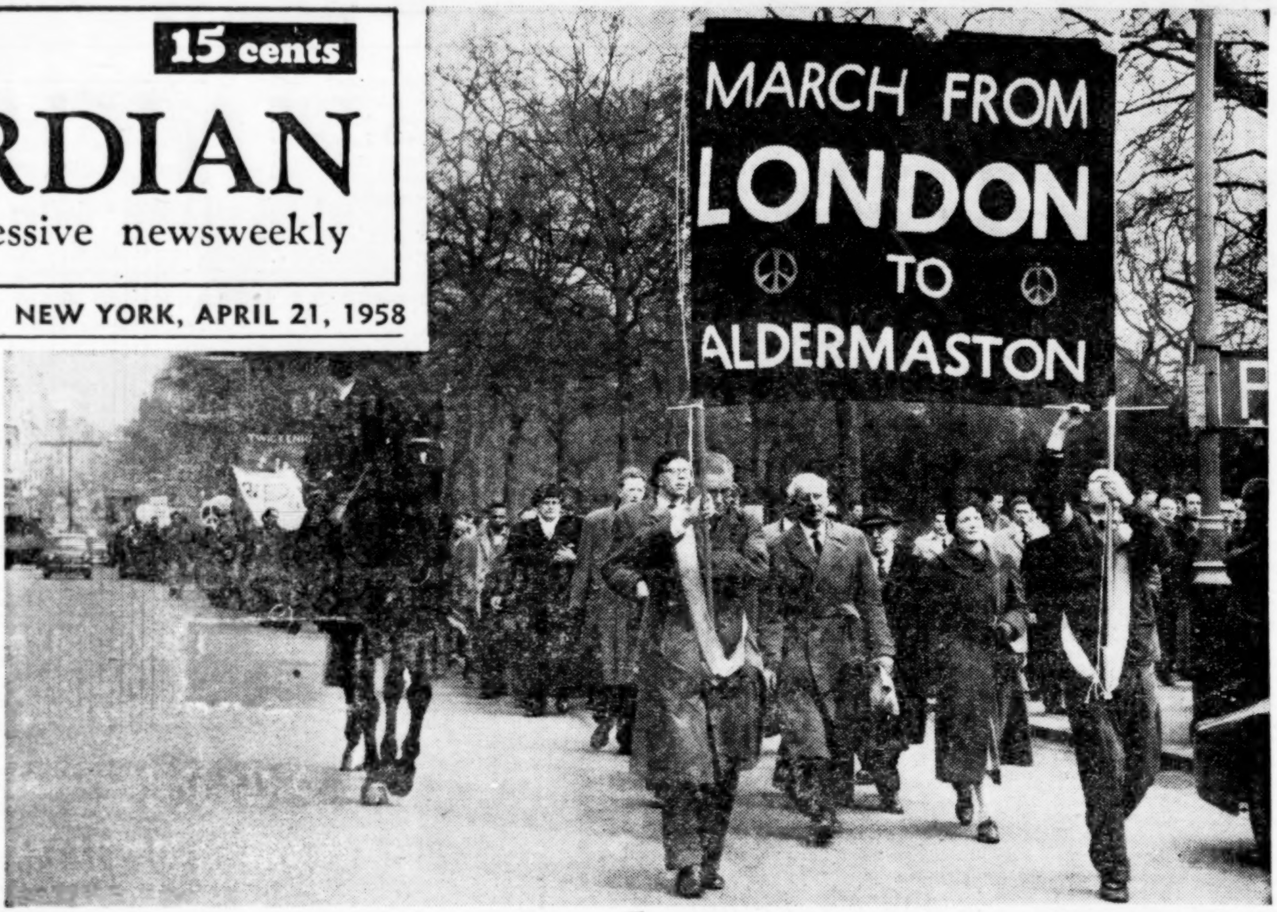
VOL. 10, NO. 27 NEW YORK, APRIL 21, 1958

WALK FOR PEACE
WALK FOR PEACE
WALK FOR PEACE
STOP NUCLEAR TESTS
WALKING TO U.N.
WALKING ... UN ... STOP ... A-BOMB TESTS



FOOTFALLS ON THE ROAD OF SANITY: PEACE WALKERS IN NEW YORK (l.) AND LONDON (above)

WILL DULLES COME UP WITH A NEW GIMMICK?

Pressure pulling U. S. to summit

By Kumar Goshal

A RELUCTANT Washington was pushed by some of its NATO partners last week into accepting the Soviet Union's proposal for opening pre-summit diplomatic negotiations on April 17 in Moscow. These negotiations were to prepare the way for a foreign ministers' meeting not later than mid-May. The foreign ministers would set the time, place and agenda of the top level conference.

While this looked like progress, many obstacles remained on the path to the summit. The Administration was by no means reconciled to a top-level meeting, and Secy. of State Dulles, at his April 8 press conference, indicated he might employ his favorite ruse of raising the ante—as he has done in the past—to prevent an East-West agreement.

DON'T LISTEN TO HIM: Dulles in effect overruled President Eisenhower on separating a nuclear weapons test ban from the rest of the U.S. disarmament package proposal. On March 26 Mr. Eisenhower had seemed willing to negotiate a "reliable" test ban agreement without insisting on suspension at the same time of production of nuclear material for weapons. Two weeks later Dulles said the U.S. was "not prepared to abandon the position" that a test ban must be a part of the package which also includes reduction of conventional weapons.

Dulles also said that he had revised upward the number of inspection stations estimated by Harold Stassen as necessary to supervise compliance with a nuclear test ban. Stassen said "11 or 12 inspection stations properly placed throughout the Soviet Union and the U.S. and our Alaskan and Pacific islands" would be more than enough to detect "unauthorized and illegal tests." Dulles doubled the figure, while Presidential adviser Dr. James R. Killian Jr. raised it to "several dozen or more."

THE APRIL 17 MEETING: Dulles, with revealing candor, said that the U.S. planned to continue tests even if the Soviet Union kept the ban after the forthcoming U.S. test series.

Undismayed by these statements, Moscow on April 11 proposed preparatory talks for a heads-of-government meeting. A Soviet note to the Western powers suggested that diplomats first meet in Moscow on April 17 to decide "the time and place [and] the composition" of the foreign ministers' meeting.

The foreign ministers, in turn, would "agree on the time, place and composition of a summit meeting and determine the range of problems to be discussed at such a meeting" after an exchange of opinion "on some of the questions which the sides propose for inclusion on the summit agenda."

Moscow urged that a summit conference be held even if the foreign minis-

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A REPORT FROM BELFRAGE IN THE LINE

The march to Aldermaston: England won't be the same

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE EASTER MARCH on the H-bomb plant at Aldermaston may be recorded as one of the greatest and most startling demonstrations of democratic protest in this country, which has been no stranger to them in its long history. Talk about popular "apathy"—and especially about the "apathy" of British youth, who overwhelmingly predominated—has suddently stopped. Political leaders are becoming scared by the gulf between them and an uncomfortably large mass of voters.

Some 12,000 people were at the send-off meeting in Trafalgar Square; 8,000 at the final Aldermaston gathering; and nightly meetings along the road of the four-day march were jammed. At all of these the left-socialist and pacifist "name speakers" were heard attentively; the American Bayard Rustin, who compared the anti-bomb campaign with the recent U.S. Negro campaigns for civil rights, came nearest to reflecting the mood. The audiences—marchers and others mingled—were impatient with old-style political formulae. There was a new and deeper groping for ways to assert democracy in the race against death, through collective action from the bottom.

JIVE AND TEA: The spirit of the march was gay, as if to proclaim that the cause of peace is a joyous one and that the solemnity of the marchers' action was sufficiently demonstrated by their taking it. There was a weird assortment of clothes; there were singing and whistling and band music, and dancing—jive and folk—at the halts for sandwiches and cups of tea; all of it informal and spontaneous.

The tremendous task of organization, to move an army varying from 700 to 4,000 for 50 miles with three overnight stops, was as unobtrusive as it was efficient. The chief organizer, a dark-haired,

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THE VERDICT: LEGAL OR HUMAN?

The jury and the 7 youths

TWELVE MEN on April 14 retired to consider what was to be done about seven boys on trial for their lives in the murder of an eighth boy. All seven had been in Manhattan's Highbridge Park in the late evening of last July 30. There were other boys too in the shadows of the park. Most of them, below the legal age limit for murder defendants, are in reform schools. One of the boys, Michael Farmer, 15, was found beaten and stabbed to death.

The jurymen were chosen when the trial began on Jan. 10 from a blue-ribbon panel, a group of some 1,500 persons carefully selected for their respectability in business and professional circles, who try New York's most important cases. It is said that no Puerto Rican appears on that panel, though some Negroes do. The jury that heard the Farmer case included no Puerto Ricans, though three of the defendants are Puerto Rican. Two Negroes sat on the case.

TWO COURSES: Two lines of thought were open to these carefully selected New Yorkers:

- They could consider the case a "who-dun-it," determine whose knife inflicted the fatal wound, perhaps find that it was a murder plot involving all seven boys, and render their verdict according to law, without regard to the

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

Contamination

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Tonight a bio-chemist from the U. of California announced on KPFA, the listener-sponsored radio station, that he and his colleagues at the university had been measuring the radioactive fallout that has been raining on California for nearly two weeks. He stated that the contamination of our drinking water had exceeded by many times the "safe limit."

I immediately called the State Office of Civil Defense. The only answer I could get from them was: "We have no information, better call the Health Dept." The Health Dept. told me that there was "nothing to worry about." When asked what one does when the water from the tap is contaminated, the Health Dept. officer told me that he didn't know.

The most alarming fact about this experience is that all of this poisoning of the air and water and food has been going on for nearly two weeks and our newspapers and radio have been silent.

William Dempster

Calling Dr. Commonsense

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our subterranean bomb test was a pitiable blunder. It proved that we were wrong and the Soviets were right: Even this midget A-bomb could be found out at a distance of 2,500 miles. As the Russians maintain, no nuclear test could be carried out without detection.

If we want to counterbalance the Soviets' effective policy, we have to stop all nuclear testing. For an impressive and efficient propaganda we do not need hucksters but our best psychologists to gain back the confidence of the world in our good will for peace and the welfare and prosperity of mankind.

John H. Beck

He dares to speak

PENOBSQUIS, N.B.

Reading the last couple of issues of the GUARDIAN, the thought comes to me that the transfer of Morton Sobell from Alcatraz. to Atlanta has given new hope to a lot of dedicated souls, that his full release might be possible if we all pitch in. How truly wonderful the thought.

When I think of Sobell and the Rosenbergs, I think of Ralph Chaplin's **Mourn Not the Dead.** Since first reading it some 35 years ago I have repeatedly vowed never to be one of "the cowed and meek, who see the world's great anguish and its wrongs and dare not speak."

Herman Fillmore

Starving amid plenty

PLATTEKILL, N.Y.

I recently returned from a tour of Florida. When I first arrived there in mid-February I read in newspapers of the suffering of migrant workers caused by repeated frosts that destroyed the citrus and vegetable crops.

I decided to see for myself the results of the crop failure. I went to the towns of Pahokee and Belle Glade and discovered that the plight of the migrant workers was worse than I had read in the newspapers. Workers were standing in welfare and Salvation Army lines. Some were leaving in trucks and cars to find work elsewhere. Eight children had died of cold and malnutrition. Cattle too were starving.

Perhaps it's time our Secy. of Agriculture, Ezra Benson, woke up. He continues to seek production cuts because food is rotting in government warehouses. Now is the time to appropriate some of the so-called farm surpluses for distribution to the people and cattle who now are starving.

Angelo DeLewis,
President
Ulster County Local Farmers' Union of the New York Milkshed.

In January the Miami Herald *reported that starving migrant workers in 90 labor camps between Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach failed to learn of county food relief (until informed of it by missionaries) because they had no money to buy newspapers.*—Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

On March 13, U.S. District Court Judge Daniel Thomas, in Mobile, Alabama, denied U.S. citizenship to Mrs. Bettine Joyce Krause of Fairhope, Alabama, when she refused to take an oath pledging to bear arms against her homeland. Mrs. Krause, a native of London, England, is married to an American citizen and the mother of two American-born children.

—ACPFB Newsletter, April, 1958

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. M., New York, N.Y.

Beef

DETROIT, MICH.

As a rank-and-file UAW member, I wish to criticize the article on March 3 in the GUARDIAN by George Breitman. I have been unemployed for six months. In the article I could not find a single word of what my union is doing.

It is fighting for extending unemployment compensation to 52 weeks, and has met with judges to halt evictions and garnishments and foreclosures. The gas company was going to shut my gas off and I called my Local and they stopped it until I go back to work.

The recent merger convention of AFL-CIO in Michigan adopted a whole program for full employment at its Grand Rapids meeting early this year.

It seems funny to me that a writer for the GUARDIAN would leave all this out but make lots of noise about the Socialist Workers Party getting petitions signed.

Name withheld

Yours for the asking

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As a follow-up to the excellent articles by Dan Leon on the kibbutz, I thought your readers might want to know something more about these collective settlements. We have published a pamphlet on the subject, "Communal Farming in Israel," by Joseph Shatil. This is a basic study of the kibbutz and was ordered by **Land Economics**, the quarterly journal of planning, housing and public utilities of the U. of Wisconsin, in which it appeared originally.

While the price of the pamphlet is 15c, I will be happy to send it free to your readers. Have them drop a line to me at **Israel Horizons**, 112 Fourth Ave., New York 3, N.Y., and mention the GUARDIAN.

Richard Yaffe,
Managing Editor

Understatement corrected

BETHLEHEM, PA.

If anything, your fine article of March 24, "Law Still Grinds The Poor," is an understatement of how justice in America is sold to the deserving rich by our courts.

I only wish your writer had been less polite and exposed at least part of the racket that passes for a judicial system in our privilege-priced "free Democracy." When the Law compels my children to attend school and to utter their compulsory prayer to the flag each morning (with straight-arm salute), I shall make sure they add this note of truth to the ritual: "... and with Liberty and Justice for all **who are white and can offord it.**"

Name Withheld

Where the meat goes

ROXBURY, MASS.

Recently a shipload of beef—the best of steers—was sent from Boston to the great champion of freedom and democray—General Franco. A tag was attached to each carcass, showing two great democracies shaking hands. No wonder that for the starving Americans in Maine there was nothing left in the steak line. Only a few bags of mouldy beans.

Old Timer

O. views Mo.

AVON, OHIO

Thanks for the editorial statement on Harry Truman and the bomb. History might have been written differently if Wallace had been Vice President rather than Truman. Truman comes from the state of jackasses and he hasn't improved on the breed one bit.

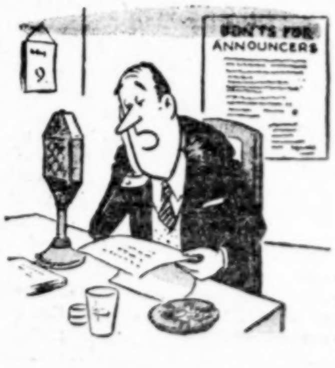
John Downey

Robeson for Congress

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I hope that the cold war hysteria has receded sufficiently by now that some party or organization would nominate Paul Robeson to run for Congress this year.

Isidore Drucker



London Daily Mirror

"Now here is the news—but quite frankly I prefer the weather forecast."

A call in St. Paul

ST. PAUL, MINN.

For the first time in years an example of independent working peoples' politics is being demonstrated in St. Paul. A candidate for the school board in the April 29 city election is Frank Chapman. Important for all who advocate politics independent of the Republicans and Democrats are these points of Chapman's candidacy:

1. Opposition to organized labor supporting election slates in coalition with labor's traditional adversary organizations.
2. Advocating that organized labor in its own name bid for a majority in government.
3. Defense of union conditions of all government employees.
4. Advancing the identity of interests of the organized labor movement and minority groups.

We urge all GUARDIAN readers to support Chapman's campaign.

Jack Barisonzi Jr., Paul Chelstrom, Oscar Christensen, Ashbel Ingerson, Emma Lee, Henry Schultz

We're taking aim

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Enclosed is a check for $9 which represents "expenses" paid me by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for appearing at the recent closed hearing on the New York City Housing Authority. I can think of no better way of sending it back at them.

Give 'em hell!

Name Withheld

In memory

NEWARK, N.J.

I am sending you $10 in memory of by beloved wife who passed away Feb. 17.

Edward Sutro

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Whose Green is it?

AS THE GUARDIAN WENT TO PRESS this week the Tavern on the Green, a New York restaurant privately operated in N.Y. City-owned Central Park, announced to the Sobell Committeee its intention of breaking its contract for the N.Y. Sobell Dinner this Monday evening, April 21. The restaurant entered into the contract Feb. 21 after assuring itself that the Committee was not on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations.

Sobell's N.Y. attorneys—Donner, Kinoy & Perlin—immediately undertook legal action designed to force observance of the contract (the Committee urged all dinner guests to call AL 4-9983 for details). At the time of the announced cancellation, the Committee had 450 reservations at $10 each and by the evening of the scheduled affair expected to have some 600, capacity for the restaurant.

THE HEARST JOURNAL-AMERICAN precipitated the situation with a news story April 10 designed to provoke protests from individuals and groups who ordinarily do the Hearst papers' dirty work. Telephone calls to the restaurant threatened picket lines, cancellation of reservations, etc., according to the management which, on April 11, asked the Committee to cancel its meeting.

The Committee refused.

On April 14 the Committee received a wire from the restaurant, cancelling the contract. The restaurant later produced a letter from Robert Moses, N.Y.C. Park Commissioner, which said in part:

> "While we cannot order you to cancel the affair, we recommend that you do so. This dinner meeting is in effect an attack on our courts and system of justice and will be offensive to many citizens, and is in our opinion an improper use of the facilities of the Tavern on the Green."

FAR FROM BEING such an attack, the scheduled dinner has the purpose of launching in the N.Y. area a campaign for signatures to an appeal to President Eisenhower asking a pardon or commutation for Sobell, or a Presidential recommendation for a new trial. Sobell was moved a few weeks ago from Alcatraz to Atlanta penitentiary after thousands of protests directed to the President and the federal Director of Prisons. He has served six years of a 30-year sentence. An impressive list of prominent Americans, including Nobel Prize scientists Harold Urey and Linus Pauling, commentator Elmer Davis, and totalling several hundred, initiated the clemency campaign which the N.Y. dinner and others like it elsewhere in the country now seek to bring to public attention for widespread concurrence.

At the N.Y. dinner, the principal speaker is to be the Rev. Peter McCormack, Protestant chaplain at Alcatraz during Sobell's stay there, and now attached to St. John's Presbyterian Church of San Francisco. The prisoner's mother, Rose, and his wife, Helen, are the other scheduled speakers.

Helen Sobell, with the 9-year-old Sobell son, Mark, recently visited Sobell in Atlanta, and for the first time in five years the prisoner could embrace his wife and son and sit together with them, instead of seeing them through thick glass and talking with them only by telephone. Of this visit Mrs. Sobell has told us:

> "It was the first time we had really seen him as a whole person for all the eight years that he has been in prison. He leaned down to kiss Mark, at the same time reaching out his arms to embrace me, and then we kissed . . . We felt like a family once again!"

WE HOPE that the N.Y. dinner will go on as originally scheduled and we urge telephone calls and messages to Mayor Robert F. Wagner pointing out the error of his Park Commissioner in characterizing the affair as he did, and requesting that the Mayor set things to rights.

What is at issue is simply the right of citizens to gather in a public place and engage in the traditional constitutional right of petition. Nothing more—and no fund-raising, which is banned on city property.

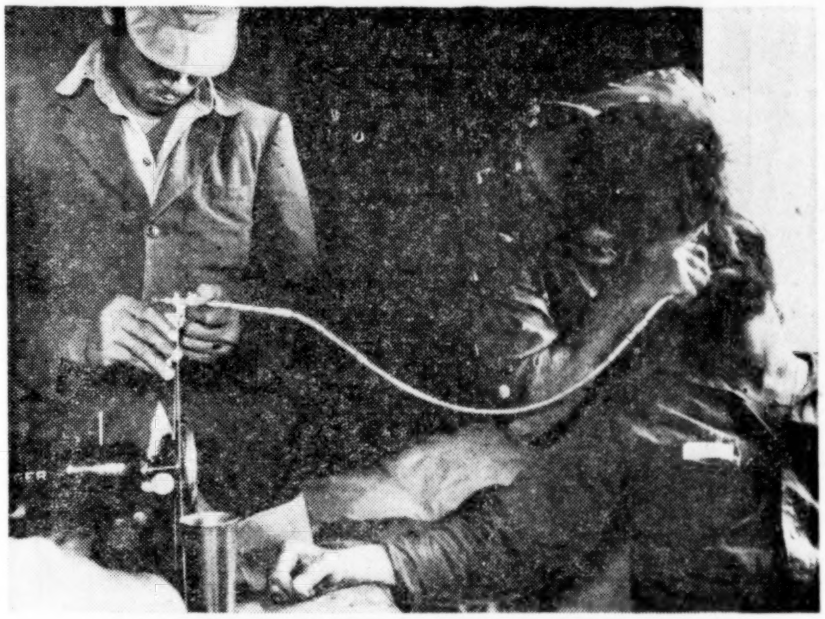
The greatest city in the world owes it to its own reputation not to let the Hearst press hornswoggle it into withholding public facilities from its citizenry for constitutional and humane use. Mayor Wagner might be reminded that the late Mayor Walker of New York joined in the fight to free Tom Mooney.

—THE GUARDIAN

BATISTA RETALIATES WITH GRIM TERROR

Cuba general strike call fails; a long war now forecast

By Elmer Bendiner



LIFE IS RUGGED IN FIDEL CASTRO'S MOUNTAIN HIDEOUT
The rebel leader gets some dental treatment; the drill is run from a sewing machine

ON APRIL 8 A BULLETIN from rebel sources in Havana said: "This week Cuba will be free." On April 9, a few hours after gunfire broke out near the presidential palace, a communique from dictator Fulgencio Batista said the situation had been restored to "normal." Both statements seemed wide of the mark.

The call for a general strike throughout the nation on April 9 had failed to bring out overwhelming numbers in Havana; and so long as Havana's workers remained outside the battle, Batista was unlikely to topple. On the other hand Cuba can scarcely be called "normal" while one-third of the country is a war zone. Moreover, workers outside Havana had apparently rallied to the rebel cause.

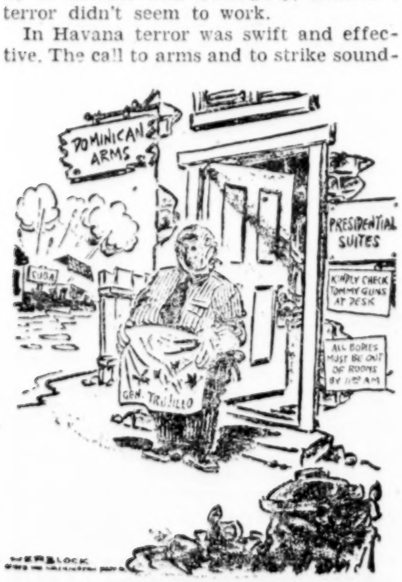
Columbia Broadcasting System correspondents who left Cuba to broadcast uncensored news said that Santiago de Cuba was paralyzed by the walk-out, that it was a city under siege with dwindling food supplies. The strike seemed effective also throughout Camaguey province.

THE FORECAST: There was no question that the rebellion was spreading but the forecast was: a long war, not a swift coup. The offensive of April 9 had in it the typical ingredients of Fidel Castro's revolution: passion, daring and drama. But it seemed to lack the careful organization necessary for a general strike. Manifestoes and a rebel broadcast were not enough.

Later there were reports that the strike call was unofficial; that someone had jumped the gun, either through poor organization or sabotage; that the wrong signal was given with the workers unprepared. The much-heralded offensive cost an estimated 350 rebel lives throughout Cuba. There were stories, all unconfirmed, of a shake-up in the Havana rebel command, of dissatisfaction in Castro's headquarters with politicos attempting to steer things from Miami while withholding funds for arms and medical supplies. In the confusion only one thing was clear: the rebellion would continue.

Few correspondents doubted the workers' overwhelming hatred for the dictatorship, but a long series of sell-outs by politicos has made Cubans wary of new leaders, a trifle jaded with calls for freedom that do not mention freedom from unemployment, starvation wages, high prices and a graft-ridden, government-controlled trade union leadership. Nevertheless, there were signs that the diverse forces of the revolution were beginning to come together. Where they did, as in Oriente and Camaguey, Batista"s terror didn't seem to work.

In Havana terror was swift and effective. The call to arms and to strike sounded at 11 a.m. on April 9 when a gas-main was blown up. Rebels invaded a radio station and forced the broadcast of a recorded call to a general strike. Gasoline bombs exploded in various parts of the capital. Batista's flying squads of police and army personnel roared into action racing their squad cars through the city, indiscriminately spraying streets and alleyways with machine gun bullets.


DOMINICAN ARMS
PRESIDENTIAL SUITES
CUBA
KINDLY CHECK TOMMY GUNS AT DESK
ALL BODIES MUST BE OUT OF ROOMS BY 11 AM
GEN. TRUJILLO
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post
"We got another room ready?"

U.S. NEWSMEN: Free-lance writer Earl Wilkinson of New York was at a cafe on the Prado when the first bomb went off. Within minutes troops and police, some with sub-machine guns and others with leather-thonged whips the length of baseball bats, charged into the cafe.

Wilkinson told the N.Y. **Daily News:** "I was hit again and again. It felt as if the whole of my back had been ripped off." Two other Americans found him, his shirt ripped and his back bleeding. They took him to the U.S. Embassy where his wounds were dressed. Later, armed Embassy guards escorted him to his hotel to pack his bags, then took him to the airport. He was advised to leave the country at once.

Other U.S. newsmen seized by Batista forces found no better comfort from U.S. authorities. Three newsmen were jailed in Santiago. When they were released, they and four other reporters were told by U.S. Consul Park Fields Wollam that the Cuban military commander "wished" they would leave. The Consul said, "We can't be responsible for your safety. You are liable to be picked up again" and then the police might not be "so polite." Asked whether the reporters were being ordered to leave, the Consul said: "It is not a command but you might as well take it as a command."

On April 10 Harold Lidin of the United Press was arrested in Santiago and held until Consul Wollam promised that Lidin, CBS' Robert Taber and the N.Y. **Times**' Homer Bigart would leave the city.

The Inter-American Press Assn. charged that the influential Havana daily **El Mundo** was being published with its personnel at gunpoint. Meanwhile in Havana Premier Gonzalo Guell promised the fullest "cooperation" with visiting journalists.

SHOOT ON SIGHT: If things were difficult for U.S. newsmen, for Cubans it was a grim terror. Bill Slocum of the N.Y. **Mirror** reported in guarded terms from Havana that police "followed up their efficient daylight work with a busy nighttime schedule designed to discourage further rebellion in the hearts of men, who for one reason or another, feel that Batista is something less than perfect."

Catholic sources in Havana reported that three youth leaders of Catholic Action had been dragged from their homes by police, stripped, tortured and shot to death.

Stories filed beyond the reach of the censor told of mourners who went to a cemetery and found the graves re-opened to hold new unidentified corpses. Everywhere rebels or suspected rebels were being shot on sight. Stores were being forced to remain open. Strikers were threatened with death.

When Batista's communique announced the capture of prisoners, correspondents noted that this seemed to be a departure from the general practice to kill rather than capture, except for those who might be tortured into revealing information concerning the rebellion.

Outside Cuba there were stirrings of protest but as yet mainly from Cubans in exile. In Caracas, Venezuela, pro-Castro forces took over the Cuban Embassy. The Ambassador had resigned, ostensibly for illness, but reportedly because of sympathy with the revolution.

In New York the Exiled Committee of the 26th of July Movement held a meeting at the Belvedere Hotel to honor Esterlina Milanes, a teacher who had withstood torture by Batista forces trying to pry from her information on rebel military dispositions. Frances Grant of the Inter-American Assn. for Democracy and Freedom told the audience of 700 that her organization supported the rebels.

Though U.S. press coverage of the revolution was full, some of the editorial support was carefully hedged. The N.Y. **Daily News**, which has covered the Batista terror frankly, in an editorial on March 10 said it suspected Castro of being a Communist or "fellow traveler." What wing of the revolution the **News** was backing still was unclear. There was little other protest from U.S. sources.

But some people were reported addressing letters of protest to the Cuban Ambassador, Sr. Nicolas Arroyo. His address: Cuban Embassy, 2330 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

390,000 SQ. MILES OFF LIMITS?

Golden Rule panics the AEC

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, through the Atomic Energy Commission, last week girded itself for a showdown with four men in a small boat. The Commission ordered 390,000 square miles of Pacific Ocean and lands off limits to Capt. Albert Bigelow and the three-man crew of the peace ship, Golden Rule.

The 30-foot ketch, sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, sailed last month for waters surrounding atomic proving grounds in the Marshall Islands. They explained their venture into the path of imminent U.S. H-bomb tests on the grounds of their pacifist conviction that "a constructive program for peace cannot be carried on simultaneously with a program for military preparedness.

In an April 12 radio report to the mainland, Bigelow gave his answer to the AEC order: "We shall continue to sail into the test area come what may." The Golden Rule, midway between Los Angeles and Hawaii, planned to stop at Honolulu to replenish supplies before proceeding to Eniwetok.

SHAKY POSITION: Commission spokesmen admitted that the government's action in pre-empting the high seas might leave it on shaky ground. The N.Y. **Times** reported that ever since January, when the crewmen announced their intention to enter the test area, "the commission and the Justice Dept. have been trying to find a law or regulation to bar their entry." The question remains, said the **Times**, "whether the general provisions of the Atomic Energy Law were sufficient basis for such a sweeping prohibition involving test areas."

While the AEC ruling does not apply to nationals of other countries, they empower the government to arrest any U.S. citizen entering the area and affix penalties of two years imprisonment and a $5,000 fine for violators.

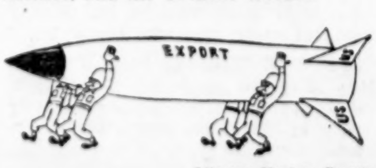
Meanwhile, by radio, the voice of Capt. Bigelow was heard from somewhere in the Pacific: "We hope our presence in the test area will speak to that which is deepest in all men that are capable of love."

GROUP TO EUROPE: Another group of pacifists—Lawrence Scott of Fallsington, Pa., Mrs. Robert Stone of Huntington Bay, N.Y., and Marvin Gerwirtz and Morton Ryweck of N.Y. City—left by plane on April 14 on the first leg of a peace mission to four European countries. They planned to appeal to the people and the prime ministers of Britain, France, West Germany and the Soviet Union for unilateral disarmament. In London they were to be met by Bayard Rustin, exec. secy. of the War Resisters League, who was already there arranging the visits to Bonn, Paris and Moscow.

In Britain the group hopes to meet with British peace groups and to ask the government to abandon nuclear weapons unconditonally; they plan to ask Premier Gaillard to keep France out of the nuclear arms race; they will seek to aid the current German campaign against West German involvement in U.S. nuclear plans. Despite the recent Soviet announcement of the suspension of nuclear weapons tests, the group decided to continue on to Leningrad and Moscow because "we do not believe that either government has as yet gone to the root of the matter."

Demonstrative peace actions within the U.S. last week included several pacifists who left Philadelphia and New York April 12 for Cape Canaveral, Fla. The group, to be joined by others from Washington, D.C., Georgia and Florida, planned to distribute leaflets and picket at the missile testing base and at nearby Patrick Air Force Base against the military uses planned for the rockets now being constructed and tested.

Sponsors of the action were Peacemakers, a movement organized in 1948 and based on Gandhian methods of non-violence, and the **Catholic Worker.**



Literary Noviny, Prague

THEY DON'T WANT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

People of Germany say: Enough of death!

Special to the Guardian

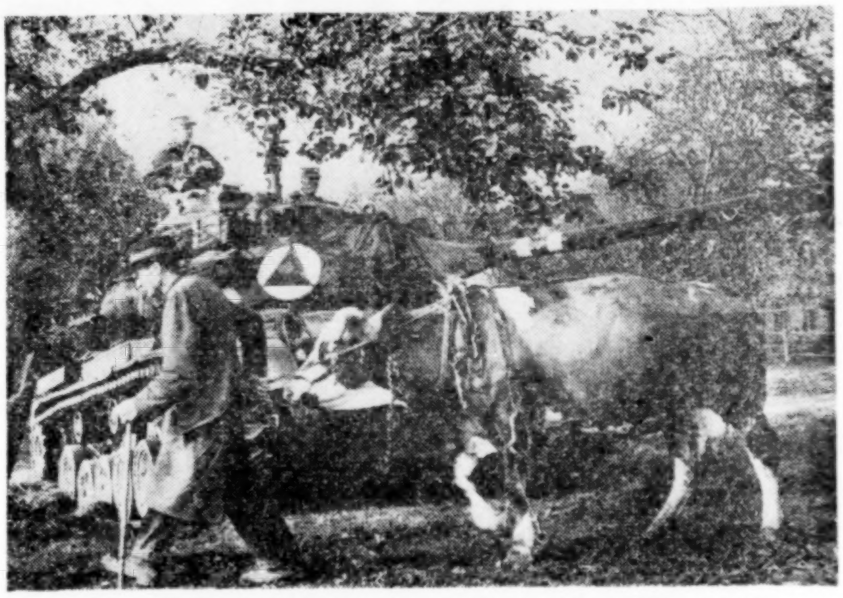
BERLIN

A TREMENDOUS MOOD of protest has seized a large section of the West German population. Hundreds of local unions and national labor federations comprising at least one-third the membership of the 8,000,000-member German Labor Fedn. have demanded a general strike against the Bundestag's decision authorizing atomic arms for the West German army.

Various "quickie" strikes have taken place in Hamburg and elsewhere. Newspapers are flooded with indignant letters. The entire Social Democratic press and other important papers have condemned the NATO-dictated move in impassioned editorials. Clergymen use their pulpits as forums to denounce this "decision of national suicide." The Social Democratic Party has introduced a bill demanding a plebiscite on the issue.

MASS MOVEMENT: A new movement, calling itself "Struggle Against Atomic Death" and led by top representatives of labor and intellectuals, is organizing groups in every city and town. The first mass meeting of the group, with an overflow attendance of 6,000, was held in late March in Frankfurt. The speakers, including Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and Willi Richter, head of the German Labor Fedn., called for extra-parliamentary action. The crowd frequently drowned them out with shouts of "general strike, general strike!"

The executive council of the German Labor Fedn. held an emergency session a few days after the Bundestag decision. A majority succeeded in gaining postponement on the general strike demand, but the leadership nevertheless denounced the atomic arms decision and promised a mass campaign to reverse it.



THE PLAIN PEOPLE WANT PEACE TO HAVE THE RIGHT OF WAY
A tank stops for a farmer and his cow near Stuttgart

A number of central trades and labor councils adopted resolutions against any delay. A shop stewards' meeting of 500 metal workers in the important Ruhr city of Essen called for a campaign "with all possible methods of struggle, including strikes." The Central Trades and Labor Council of Duesseldorf, another important industrial city, appointed a special committee at an emergency meeting with instructions to seek the closest cooperation of other civic leaders in organizing a protest movement against atomic armament.

LABOR'S JOB: The national executive council of the Building Trades Workers has promised full trade union protection to any member who refuses to work on construction jobs of atomic and rocket bases. Adolf Kummernuss, chairman of the Municipal Workers Union which in March conducted a 24-hour national general strike to back up wage demands, told a meeting of delegates representing 153,000 women members that "it is up to the working class to prevent World War III."

West German intellectuals say the same thing. Here, as in many other countries, the movement against atomic lunacy originated with the intellectuals. The list of those who have spoken out reads like a "Who's Who" of West German science and culture. But these, and notably "The 44"—a group of prominent university professors—have recently reminded labor of its primary responsibility in fighting against the atomic war threat. Support for the general strike demand has also come from Pastor Dr. Martin Niemoeller, world-known Protestant church leader and president of the Hessian synod.

As for the plebiscite, it is certain that the Adenauer majority in the Bundestag will reject it. But the Senate of the city of Hamburg, where Social Democrats have a majority, has voted to carry through a local plebiscite. Similar action is being planned in Bremen and other cities.

EYES OPENED: In Hamburg, with its tradition of working class militancy, there is strong pressure on the leadership. There are serious differences within the national leadership of Social Democracy on the nature and extent of mass action against Adenauer's NATO policy in general, and atomic weapons for the army in particular. These differences are meshed with general differences over party policy which are to get an airing at the national party convention in May.

But there is no doubt where the rank and file stand. At a mine-pit near Duesseldorf, some 2,000 miners in one day signed petitions protesting against atomic arms and demanding the creation of an atom-free zone in Europe. This is a fair measure of popular sentiment.

At the Frankfurt mass rally, one of the speakers told of a visit to a hospital in Japan where he met a girl who hadn't been able to close her eyes since 1945 because her eyelids were burned by the A-bomb. "Shall we wait," the speaker asked, "until our eyes also are opened for us in this terrible manner?"

Pressure on U. S.

(Continued from Page 1)

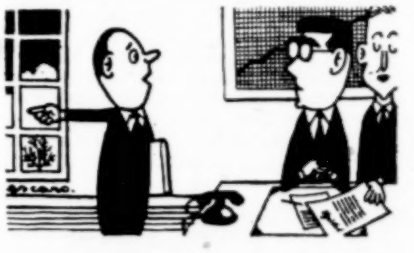
ters failed to agree, because "obviously, the difficulties which may arise at the ministers' meeting can and should be overcome at a meeting of statesmen vested with broader powers." The note did not specify a time for the summit conference; Moscow had previously proposed June.

PRESSURE ABROAD: Washington's immediate response was negative. London, however, officially "welcomed" the Soviet initiative, and speeded up NATO discussion on a reply to halt the growing rift with the U.S. over summit-talk policy. Britain was under severe pressure not only from the Labor Party and the public but even from the conservative press. The London **Times**, for example, fully supported the Soviet proposal. It said that the U.S., Britain and France "ought clearly to be no less eager than the Russians" to start preliminary talks.

An unwilling Washington was thus being pulled toward the summit largely by powerful public pressure abroad, stirred by Moscow's persistent efforts.

Indicative of the pressure abroad were reports from West Germany (see above). Social Democrats and the trade unions were reported "organizing mass meetings and protest strikes" throughout the country. On April 10, 8,000 Bremen dock workers walked out with the consent of the employers to attend a mass meeting; and 1,300 machine construction workers in Goeppingen, near Stuttgart, paraded through the streets in protest against nuclear weapons. On the same day the City Assembly of Socialist-run Frankfurt adopted a resolution to keep outside the city limits any West German troops armed with nuclear weapons and to deny them real estate, electricity and water.

CAUSE FOR WORRY: Moscow had a two-fold reason for trying to hasten a summit conference: (1) it was apparently worried by U.S. moves pregnant with disastrous possibilities; (2) it was eager to employ its manpower for the constructive purpose of peaceful, competitive coexistence.



Liberation, Paris

"The Seine is flooding again, sir, so we've raised taxes on mops, cough drops, buckets and pumps, as you ordered."

Among the U.S. moves worrying Moscow were:

- The Administration's attempt to amend the 1954 Atomic Energy Act so that its 47 allies can be supplied with nuclear know-how and material, enabling them eventually to manufacture at least "crude" bombs, as Dulles admitted.
- The President's proposal to reorganize the Defense Dept., empowering the Defense Secretary to put the armed forces on a "war basis." For which Mr. Eisenhower has adopted a fighting mood that is noticeably lacking on such issues as civil rights and economic problems.
- The revelation that, at a signal from the Distant Early Warning (defense) system, which had spotted unidentified objects that might or might not be Soviet missiles, U.S. Strategic Air Command planes loaded with H-bombs have roared many times towards the Soviet Union. All have thus far been signaled back before they could unload, but an accidental unloading could not be precluded.

GOODS—NOT GUNS: Soviet Premier Khrushchev has time and again repeated to all who would listen his desire for peaceful coexistence, to compete with the U.S. in increasing peacetime production.

At the UN Economic Commission for Europe conference in Geneva last week, the Soviet delegation stressed Moscow's desire for "an exchange of experience and materials on a commercial basis" with the West, in order to meet increased Soviet need for clothes, appliances and a wide range of durable goods. Soviet Deputy Premier Zakharov said: "We can provide these things for ourselves, but it will take longer."

For millions anxious for peace, it seemed to be taking even longer to provide a conference table.

Next time SAC denies it remember this

THE STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND still provides the United States with an overwhelming retaliatory ability over the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Pentagon experts. America's 100-score Boeing B-47 Stratojet bombers plus the hundreds of B-52s now in service give the United States an overwhelming massive retaliation capability. Numerous and continuing SAC flights over the sovereign territory of the U.S.S.R. demonstrate this . . .

The clincher that demonstrates the United States capability through its SAC bombers is the fact that these aircraft continue to fly over the Soviet Union with a relative degree of immunity. It is true that modern Russian fighters attack our bombers with major advantages of altitude, speed and maneuverability. It is also true that they score some hits. But so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles, either because they don't have anti-aircraft missiles that are operational or because the Reds don't want to tip their hand.

In any case U.S. radar and photographic mapping missions over the Russian land mass continue with a fair degree of success and immunity. This indicates that in the event of an all-out situation, SAC bombers would get through in high enough proportion to result in a major catastrophe to the Soviet Union. The Kremlin knows this.

—From **Missiles and Rockets**, magazine of World Astronautics, January, 1958

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THE OFFENSE: TOO INDEPENDENT

Labor's Daily dies for lack of labor support

ON MARCH 29, after five and a half years of existence, **Labor's Daily** went to press for the last time. The end of the 12-page tabloid, published at Bettendorf, Iowa, by the Intl. Typographical Union, leaves the U.S. without a single non-commercial daily.

Before the ITU started the paper in September, 1952, the American Newspaper Guild canvassed the labor movement for 18 months to see if a national daily labor paper could be financed. It came to a negative conclusion. The ITU required far less than five and a half years to agree with the ANG. But it hung on, hoping for a miracle.

With limited funds, the paper had no bureau, except for Washington. It received most of its stories from stringers—correspondents paid on very modest space rates, most of them employed elsewhere.

THOROUGH COVERAGE: Despite these limitations, **LD** was a good paper, especially by labor journalism standards.

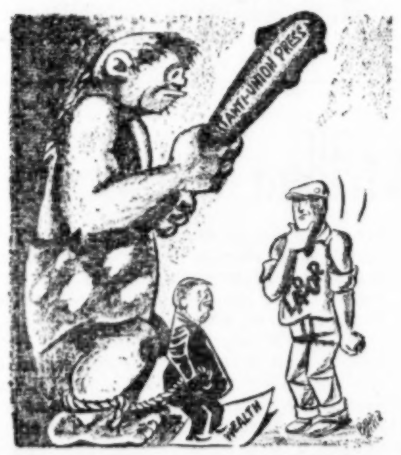
It sought to serve the entire family. It had a fine woman's and family page, a good sports page, an excellent medical column, carried four cartoon strips, and had a bright cultural and entertainment page.

The paper covered labor more thoroughly than labor had ever been covered. It also published expert series on nuclear energy, missiles, utilities and farm problems, and presented features on almost every social question of the day. It was not a "radical" paper but it was not afraid of "radical" ideas. It opposed nuclear testing, government inquisitors, racial discrimination, and the cold war.

As a labor paper, it was the most independent of them all, which was part of its downfall. It refused to endorse the action of every labor union or labor boss; sometimes it could be sharply critical.

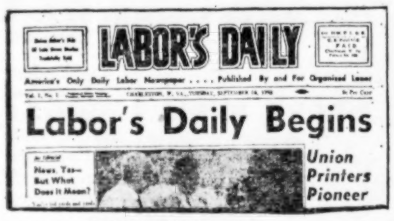
DISPLEASURE: It had long seemed clear that labor would not support the paper. At its height, **LD** had only 10,000 subscriptions, 7,000 of them complimentary. It could have gained more readers with a subscription drive, but the people in power who might have spared its life doomed its fate.

Some months ago, a behind-the-scenes "knifing action" on **Labor's Daily** became so obvious that the paper editorially fought back. Some leaders, who could not order it around as they did their own house organs, were displeased because it took notice of the dissatisfaction of the rank and file, reported jurisdictional disputes objectively, and declined to print their self-flattering handouts.



Labor's Daily

The ITU appealed to the AFL-CIO to come to **LD's** assistance. Last December, George Meany appointed a committee headed by Arnold Zander, president of the State, County and Municipal Employes, to study the problem. **Labor's Daily** said it needed a minimum of 50,000 subscriptions to continue. (If every local and every AFL-CIO official and staff member had subscribed, the paper would see daylight).



LABOR'S DAILY

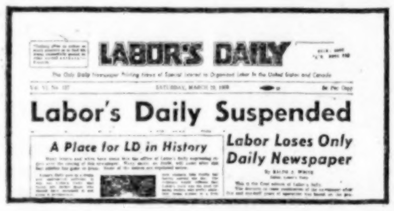
America's Only Daily Labor Newspaper . . . . Published By and For Organized Labor

Labor's Daily Begins

News, Yes— But What Does It Mean?

Union Printers Pioneer

THE BEGINNING . . .



LABOR'S DAILY

Labor's Daily Suspended

A Place for LD in History

Labor Loses Only Daily Newspaper

. . . AND THE END

The paper even offered to set up a stock corporation to take over the operation, without payment to the ITU of a penny for its huge investment, but that effort failed because only seven smaller international unions showed interest.

LAST APPEAL: Eight U.S. Senators and 16 Representatives urged Walter Reuther to take the initiative to save **Labor's Daily,** but he was silent. Arnold Zander said: "Several major unions, which had demonstrated real interest in the project, have been very seriously affected by the economic recession. With their enforced withdrawal from the undertaking it became apparent that we could not get enough guaranteed subscriptions in the time available to us." The auto workers, the steel workers, the machinists, the building trades and other powerful organizations did not respond.

Letters to the paper during its final week were bitter. Tony Josephs of Chicago wrote ". . . Every now and then you got critical. That was a sad mistake. Humorless, self-righteous labor leaders don't hanker for any honest criticism. They feel above it—and, I notice, they seem incapable of self-criticism." Bill Gillen, president of the Insurance Workers, said: "I feel extremely frustrated in watching something that I consider vital in the labor movement die."

Tom Evans, Intl. Rep. of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union and a veteran of 50 years in the labor movement wrote; ". . . It is an indictment of the leadership. . . . It is a crime that our leadership who can find the money to build fancy buldings, send out reams of glossy paper material (most of which could as well be printed on newsprint), and pay fancy salaries in many instances, will not produce the money necessary to keep **Labor's Daily** going." Frank Linton decreed: "From now on let a blushing silence fall over those union leaders who for years have pretentiously clamored against the distortion of the commercial press and called on heaven to witness the terrible need for Labor's own newspaper."

CIVIL LIBERTIES STILL UNCERTAIN

Flaxer loses second round on contempt; new move on Lightfoot

IN A SERIES of recent decisions and actions the Federal courts revealed the extent to which enjoyment of full civil liberties still hangs on legal technicalities and judicial chance.

The U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington on April 3 upheld for the second time the contempt conviction of ex-union president Abram Flaxer. The vote was 4-3. In a hearing before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1951, Flaxer refused to hand over membership lists of the United Public Workers of America. When the case reached the Supreme Court it was sent back to the Court of Appeals for reconsideration in light of last June's decision in the Watkins case, which held that witnesses must be informed of the pertinency of questions asked.

THE LONE MAN: Flaxer contended that in his case the union list had no pertinence to the committee's inquiry, that the committee had no right to demand it, and that the lone Senator who conducted the hearing had no authority under committee regulations to rule on his objection.

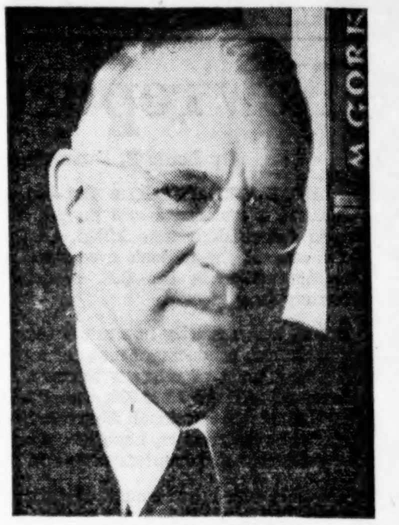
Judge E. Barrett Prettyman ruled for the court majority that Flaxer's refusal was not based on pertinence and that therefore the conviction must stand. Chief Judge Henry Edgerton ruled for himself and Judges Charles Fahy and David L. Bazelon that the conviction should be reversed on the ground that the single Senator at the hearing exceeded his authority in ruling on Flaxer's objections. Two judges did not take part in the decision. The case will now return to the Supreme Court in light of other aspects of the Watkins decision.

NEW TRIAL IN ST. LOUIS: In St. Louis, Mo., on the same day, another Court of Appeals reversed the conviction and ordered a new trial for five defendants under the Smith Act. The decision was based on the Supreme Court ruling in the California Yates case forbidding convictions for advocacy of overthrow of the government as an abstract principle unrelated to positive action. The defendants—William Sentner, Robert Manewitz, Marcus Murphy, James E. Forest and Dorothy Forest—asked for acquittal, but the court said: "The defendants here are entitled to nothing more than a new trial." U.S. Atty. Harry Richards said the Dept. of Justice is studying the question of whether to bring the five to trial again.

6 WAIT IN DETROIT: In Detroit, Mich., six Smith Act defendants are also awaiting government action following a recent Appeals Court order for a new trial. They are: Saul Wellman, Nat Ganley, Phil Schatz, Thomas Dennis, Helen Winter, and Billy Allen. A spokesman for the defendants urged that the government "come in and admit it has no case," as it has done in "a number of other Smith Act cases."

LIGHTFOOT CASE MOVE: In Chicago on April 7 Federal Judge Philip L. Sullivan held a hearing on a government motion to retry Communist leader Claude Lightfoot under the membership clause of the Smith Act. On the basis of the Yates decision, defense counsel John J. Abt offered to stand on the record of the original trial. The government's reaction to this proposal will be determined in a continuation of the hearing on May 5.

In Federal Court in Butte, Mont., last week motions were denied to dismiss the indictment against John C. Hellman under the membership clause. Hellman was arrested April 5, 1956. Trial was set for May 7.



HOLLAND ROBERTS

He can speak freely . . .

CALIFORNIA CANDIDATE

Hallinan asks united support for Dr. Roberts

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

"NO ONE but a socialist, like Holland Roberts, could come up with such a simple solution to the problem of raising $10,000,000,000 for education," said his campaign manager, Vincent Hallinan, in an interview last week. Roberts is an independent candidate for State Supt. of Public Instruction. "Holland's solution," Hallinan said, is this: "just divert this amount from the billions allocated for war. No increase in taxes would be necessary."

"War has now become an exercise in mutual destruction," said Hallinan, "and all money so ear-marked should be rechanneled. In my opinion, Dr. Roberts is very modest. He asks that only one-fifth of the war budget be allotted to the states in order to establish an adequate education system—not only in California—but throughout the United States."

Hallinan said the purpose of the Roberts campaign is "to put before California voters an independent socialist who can speak freely because he is not committed to the Republican or Democratic parties; who can handle himself in the field of national and international relations that affect education and our lives; and who can advocate the teaching of the real history of the labor movement, the contributions of the Negro people, class movements and socialism."

COMMON CAUSE: Hallinan denounced "the intellectual chastity belt" being forced on college students as a result of the continuing witch-hunt against California teachers. He said Dr. Roberts favors restoring the Bill of Rights for teachers and students. He commended Dr. Roberts' stand for peace, without which students will not live to use their education.

The Roberts' campaign is planning extensive speaking engagements throughout the state. State Headquarters will be at 345 Franklin St., San Francisco.

Hallinan asks the support of all socialist, progressive and liberal forces, and adds: "Perhaps the candidacy of Holland Roberts may serve, incidentally, to unify such forces around a common cause."

V-Day for England—Lady Violet is coming

"IT WAS a deeply moving experience. I had the strange sense of being a member of an army of liberation entering occupied country which for years had been ruled by quislings and collaborators, and that their days were over once and for all. There are in England thousands of Liberals living in occupied territory whom we have got to liberate. I think the message which should go out to them is 'Hold out, Hold on. We are coming—and we are.'"

—Lady Violet Bonham Carter on the victory of her son Mark Bonham Carter, Liberal candidate in the Torrington by-election.

AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

New report reveals plight of the migratory worker

By Louis E. Burnham

ALMOST A YEAR AGO a flat-bed truck in North Carolina overturned and burned. Seventeen men, women and children were killed, another 26 injured. For a moment the nation's eyes were focused on the forgotten worker in the U.S. economic system—the migratory farm laborer.

Nobody knows exactly how many there are. The government which conducts a census of migrant birds does not keep a count of migrant workers. Estimates vary between 500,000 and 1,000,000, and Frank P. Graham, chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, call them "the most rootless, homeless, schoolless, churchless, defenseless and hopeless people in our country."

The NSF—"for advancement of agricultural labor"—has consistently reminded the nation during the past 20 years that John Steinbeck's "grapes of wrath" are still the bitter fruit of the farm policies of big business government. Its report on the condition of farm workers in 1957 presents a grim picture.

NO PROTECTION: In migrant camps workers are "housed" in abandoned barns, chicken coops and dilapidated shacks. Often men, women and children are herded into one room. Medical attention is a rarity and infant diarrhea and disabling adult illnesses frequently go untreated.

Few children of migrant workers achieve more than a few grades of elementary education, and that in makeshift, short-term schools. (The economy dictates among migrant youth a higher priority for bean-picking than for book learning.)

Forty of the 48 states specifically exclude migrant farm workers from the protection of labor and social welfare legislation. The migrants are victims of unscrupulous labor agents; their pitifully low wages are gobbled up by camp commissaries which maintain arbitrarily high prices. They are hounded by the police and harrassed by hostile townspeople in the towns through which they move or near which they work.

A SAMPLE: The following sample of migrant living is adapted from a Florida State Board of Health report:

"Men, women and children loaded onto trucks in early evening. First stop made at 11 p.m. for a meal. Told by diner's proprietor to move on. Next stop at 1 a.m. for gas. Migrants not allowed to use toilets. An hour later stop made in a woods for 'bathroom' purposes. Continued riding all night. Stopped at 6 a.m. to purchase cold cuts, bread and soda pop at country store. At noon stopped for drinking water at a spring. State troopers followed trucks rest of day and no stops permitted. At 8 p.m. stopped at country store for more cold cuts, bread and soda pop. State troopers prevented migrants from leaving truck. Stopped at 3 a.m. for 1½ hours of sleep. At 11 a.m. of second day, migrants arrived at the camp where they hoped to work."

The conditions of migrant workers depress the standards of all farm laborers in the U.S. And despite the fact that there is chronic unemployment among day laborers on farms, the migrants are in constant competition with temporary farm workers imported under contract by the Dept. of Agriculture. For the fiscal year ending June, 1957, 466,713 such workers were imported from Mexico, Canada, British West Indies, Japan and French West Indies. The vast majority, 450,422, came from Mexico and most of them worked for California fruit and vegetable growers.

FOR HIM, NO PROTECTION
The migrant has less of everything than anybody

NUMBERS GROW: In addition to these, 3,912 temporary farm workers came from the Bahamas during 1957; 13,214 came from Puerto Rico under contract, and an estimated additional 10,000 Puerto Ricans came on their own to work on farms. While contract violations were rife among Mexicans and exploitation was extreme among American migrants who did not work under contract, the Puerto Rican and British West Indian seasonal workers were often accorded better treatment because their representatives maintained offices and supervised terms of the contracts.

The ranks of farm day laborers and migrant workers are constantly being increased by small farmers, tenants and sharecroppers who have to give up the struggle to make a living off the land. The dispossessed Negro sharecropper moves on to a Northern city if he can afford to, since the nearby industries usually have no job for him. But often he moves north a little at a time, from season to season, state to state, crop to crop.

Under a government which as a matter of policy subsidizes bigness, in industry and agriculture, the prospects for the migrant worker are not good. Last year the U.S. spent $5,000,000,000 in its farm programs. Over $500,000,000 went in cash payments under the soil bank program, mainly to large corporation farms. The sum of $278,187.34 was paid to just **one** farmer under the program.

LITTLE MAN OUT: Contrasted to this, the Farmers Home Administration spent a total of $342,500,000 in loans to small farmers who have no other source of credit. These loans went to approximately 118,000 farmers and averaged less than $2,000 each.

For an improvement of his conditions the farm laborer—migrant or stationary—looks to Washington and the state capitals for legislation and to the trade union movement for organization. Last year the Natl. Agricultural Workers Union (formerly Southern Tenant Farmers Union) received a grant from the Industrial Union Dept. of AFL-CIO to step up an organizing drive among workers on large western farms. The union also worked with a group of small farmers in Louisiana who had formed a cooperative to market strawberry and vegetable crops. Nearly 1,000 new members joined in the state. Contracts were negotiated with employers of 600 sugar cane workers, providing wage increases of 12c to 17c an hour and other benefits.

The AFL-CIO at its convention last winter announced it would conduct a survey preliminary to developing an organizing campaign among the nation's 2,000,000 unorganized farm workers. The survey has not yet gotten under way.

NEW YORK ACTS: Congress passed no legislation affecting farm laborers last year. Most state legislatures followed suit. One notable exception was New York. In Albany, the legislature passed seven bills which were strongly urged by NAACP following on-the-spot investigations of conditions in the state's labor camps conducted by NAACP labor secy. Herbert Hill.

The bills required: (1) Labor contractors to keep written payroll records and provide workers with written wage statements; (2) licensing by the State Labor Dept. of farm labor camp commissaries and posting food prices; (3) revocation of contractor and crew leader registrations for misrepresenting terms or conditions of employment; (4) certification of camps by Public Health Dept.; (5) prohibition of state employment service representatives from assigning workers to uncertified camps; (6) appropriation of $10,000 as grants to school districts operating during non-school season for children of migratory farm workers; (7) granting the State Atty. General injunctive powers to be used against contractors or camp operators upon complaint.

The first bill has been approved by Gov. Averell Harriman; the others await his signature before becoming law.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 27

All-Southern parley to fight voting curbs

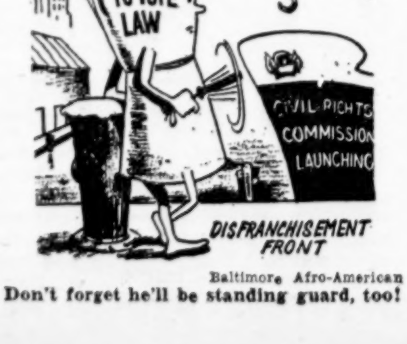
THE SUCCESSES and difficulties of campaigns against Southern curbs on Negro voting will be the theme of a one-day conference at the Asbury Methodist Church, 11th & K Sts., Washington, D.C., on April 27.

Sponsors include Francis A. Gregory, an assistant superintendent of Washington schools, and Dr. Charles H. Thompson, head of Howard University's Dept. of Education. Aubrey Williams, editor of the **Southern Farm and Home**, Montgomery, Ala., will be the keynote speaker, and James Narbrit, secy. of Howard U., will summarize and lead a discussion after the reports.

Among the reporters will be: Charles G. Gomillion, president, Tuskegee, Ala., Civic Assn.; Rev. Ben F. Wyland, exec. secy., Florida Council for Racial Cooperation; Austin W. Walden, attorney, Atlanta, Ga.; Kenneth J. Walker of the Colfax, La., **Chronicle**; Aaron Wells, exec. secy., Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership; Mrs. Wilson Whitman, writer and editor of Southern Pines, N.C.; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, secy., South Carolina State Conference of Branches, NAACP; and attorney W. Hale Thompson, Newport News, Va.

All participants will file comprehensive written reports which will be published for nationwide distribution. The document will include reports from all other Southern and border states, including one on Maryland by Cliff McKay, managing editor of the **Afro-American** newspapers, Baltimore.

General chairman of the conference is Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Baltimore area of the Methodist Church. Arrangements are being coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, La. Washington headquarters are at 4015 Massachusetts Ave., S.E.



Baltimore Afro-American
Don't forget he'll be standing guard, too!

GHANA TAKES THE LEAD

Parley seeks African alliance

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE INFANT STATE of Ghana made the first move in its plan for cooperation between independent African states when two government delegates toured the seven states which were to participate in a conference at Accra Apr. 15. The states are Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Liberia.

Ghana's representatives on the mission were Justice Minister Ako Adjei and George Padmore, the author long active in the Pan-African movement who is now African Affairs adviser to Prime Minister Nkrumah. In each country they discussed technical details and an agenda for the precedent-making conference.

The parley aimed to establish an alliance of African governments to act together on matters of mutual concern. It will be followed by a conference of popular movements in still-colonial areas as well as independent countries.

DUBOIS HAILED: Describing Ghana's initiative as one which "may change the face of Africa," MP Fenner Brockway, chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, said in London: "When in two years' time Nigeria becomes independent, the self-governing states will represent half the population of Africa. Every issue in Africa will be their concern. Algeria, Kenya, Central Africa Federation and S. Africa will become matters not only for the French, British and Union governments but for the new alliance of African states. In their cooperation a new power will emerge in the world."

Brockway called it "appropriate" that "this idea should be taking practical form in the year when Dr. DuBois, the American Negro 'father' of the idea, is celebrating his 90th birthday."

* * *

"In the best sense of the word, Jesus was a radical . . . His religion has been so long identified with conservatism—often with conservatism of the obstinate and unyielding sort—that it is almost startling for us sometimes to remember that all of the conservatism of his own times was against him; that it was the young, free, restless, sanguine, progressive part of the people who flocked to him."

—PHILLIPS BROOKS

PEACE COUNCIL TO PRESS DEMAND

Trade with socialist lands called answer to depression

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

AS THE SHADOW of slump and unemployment falls over the capitalist world, huge stocks of raw materials are piling up in the countries that rely on primary commodities for their livelihood. Tea in Ceylon, coffee in Brazil, copper in Chile, rubber in Malaya, metals in Mexico; everywhere the story is the same. These countries are selling only a part of their production and what they do sell brings lower prices.

The disastrous depression of the Thirties was marked by a similar situation. In those years there was no escape. Today the peoples see a way out of their difficulties. They are demanding trade with the countries of the socialist world and the movement backing these demands is becoming one of the most important factors in the international situation.

The struggle for cooperation between states with different economic situations is now not only a condition for the establishment of peace, it is also the only way to save hundreds of millions of men and women from disaster.

BRIDGE THE GAP: The Bureau of the World Council of Peace gave great attention to this question at its recent meeting in Delhi and marked a special place for it at the World Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation at Stockholm in July. The Bureau hopes that businessmen who have differed with the World Council on other questions will seize this way to bridge the gap between the capitalist and socialist worlds. It will mean in coming months a fiercer battle to end U.S. trade embargoes.

Here are some of the details of this new development as reported to the meeting at Delhi:

CEYLON: An agreement has been signed with the Soviet Union for the sale of tea in return for machinery and technical aid. The government of Ceylon is calling a conference of Asian countries to discuss trade and international planning. Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana said: "This is very important for the future of our economy for always before we have been at the mercy of the markets in the West."

BRAZIL: The President refuses to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, but an influential trade delegation has returned from Moscow with an offer to buy the coffee surplus and cocoa in return for industrial goods. China has offered to buy textiles. The U.S. has reduced purchases of coffee by 50% and much of this year's bumper crop will have to be burned if new markets are not found. A campaign demanding trade with the socialist countries is sweeping the nation.

ARGENTINA: The new government, taking power on May 1, has declared in favor of friendly relations with all countries. Some trade is already going on with the U.S.S.R. and discussions are going on with China. Argentina wants to sell surpluses of wheat, maize and meat.

CHILE: The government has refused trade talks with the U.S.S.R. but nitrates and copper, on which the economy depends, are piling up. Industrialists and farmers alike are demanding a trade policy independent of the U.S., whose cut in purchases has precipitated the crisis.

COUNTRIES BELONGING to Washington-sponsored military alliances have not been immune to the effects of the recession in the U.S. In Pakistan—a member of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact—major export products, such as cotton, jute, hides, wool and tea, are piling up at docks.

Finance Minister Amjad Ali reports that Pakistan is losing $30,000,000 in cotton sales this year, $1,300,000 a month in cotton yarn sales, and half of its normal annual sale of jute. Ali attributes this to the recession in the U.S. and its impact on Pakistan.

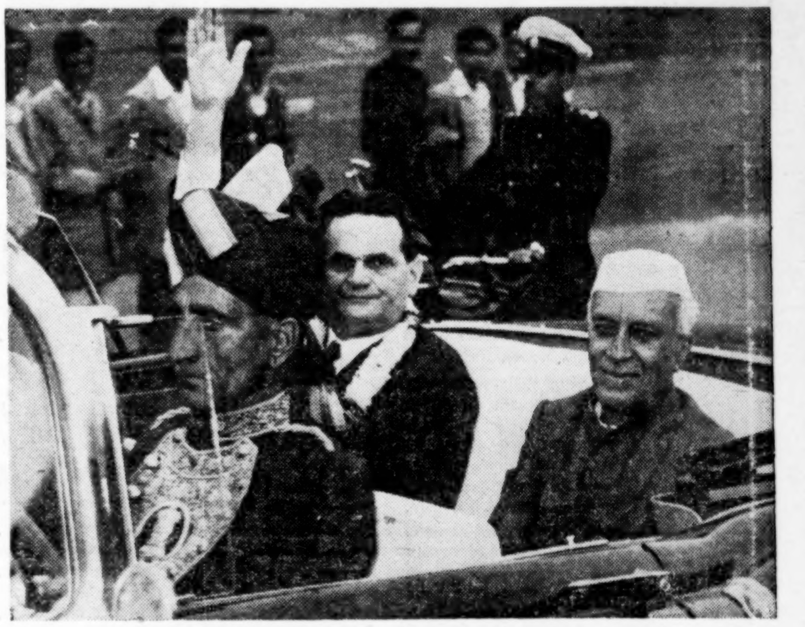
MEXICO: The U.S. is curtailing purchases of metals, sulphur and coffee. It is putting up new tariff barriers against Mexican industries. Washington has forbidden Mexico to buy oil drilling machinery for her oil fields from the U.S.S.R., although Texas is doing so. By a resolution of the Senate, the U.S. is refusing any aid to the nationalized oil industry of Mexico.

OTHER CONFLICTS: Both Brazil and Argentina have vast untapped deposits of oil and have the opportunity to buy drilling equipment from the Soviet Union, but the U.S. is trying to impose agreements giving concessions to Standard Oil. Similar reports come from other Latin American countries.

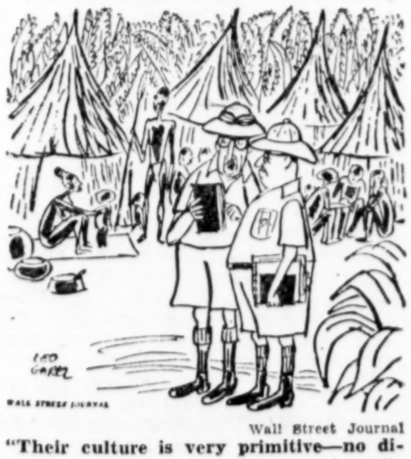
Industrial countries also are in conflict with U.S. domination. Japan, for example, has concluded a new agreement with China for exchange of surplus steel products for coal. And all over the country there is anger at the action of the U.S. in putting up new tariffs against Japanese goods. Australia is looking for markets for her wool.

In Britain, as the effects of the U.S. recession are increasingly felt, the demand for trade with the socialist countries is reaching nationwide proportions.

THE PARADOX: In its final statement, the Bureau noted how pressure by the peoples is changing relations based on colonial oppression and exploitation of the natural wealth of weaker countries, to new relations based on independence. The task at Stockholm will be to ensure that these new forces are used to create cooperation among all nations. It is a strange paradox that in the present crisis of the capitalist world, the best hope of escaping disaster lies in trade and friendship with the countries building socialism.



CZECH PRIME MINISTER SIROKY AND INDIA'S NEHRU
Each country has what the other needs; free trade helps both



Wall Street Journal
"Their culture is very primitive—no divorce, no unemployment, no juvenile delinquency."

WASHINGTON CHARGED WITH AID TO REBELS

Indonesia aroused at U. S. meddling

WASHINGTON'S REFUSAL to accept the revolutionary changes in Asia and Africa was brought into sharper relief last week by its long-distance—and perhaps on-the-spot—meddling in the internal affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

By April 7 troops of the Jakarta government had penned the Sumatran rebel forces in their only remaining strongholds of Bukittingi and Padang and were close to cutting off their supply line to neutral South Sumatra. On April 7 the rebel radio at Padang desperately appealed to the West for help, and urged Western powers to prevent delivery of arms Jakarta had bought from the socialist nations.

On April 7 U. S. State Dept. press officer Lincoln White expressed regret that Jakarta had turned "to the communist bloc to buy arms for possible use in killing Indonesians who openly oppose the growing influence of communism in Indonesia."

THE REACTION: The N. Y. **Times** said that Asian diplomats in Washington interpreted White's statement "as an indirect expression of support for the Indonesian rebel group." These diplomats "expected a sharp reaction from the Jakarta government, which appears to be well on its way toward suppressing the Sumatra rebellion."

The reaction came within 24 hours—and it was sharp. In Jakarta, Premier Djuanda and Foreign Minister Subandrio summoned U. S. Ambassador Howard P. Jones to register a protest and to ask for "explanation and clarification." They reminded Jones that Indonesia had turned to Eastern Europe for arms after Washington had refused to sell arms to Jakarta.

The Indonesian press unanimously criticized White's statement. The conservative **Merdeka** called it direct intervention which could lead to serious consequences. It said: "Mr. White showed clearly to the world that U. S. sympathy is on the rebel side." The influential **Suluh Indonesia** charged that the U.S., failing to overthrow the Sukarno government by supporting the rebels, was trying to turn world opinion against the government by accusing it of communism.

THE FALSE CHARGE: Indonesians pointed out that, speaking at the University of Indonesia on April 3, President Sukarno had said:

"I am not a communist. I am accused of being a communist because I have visited Communist countries [and because] I do not want our country to be dragged into any of the world blocs."

At his press conference on April 8 Secy. of State Dulles turned down a new Indonesian bid for U. S. arms. He said the U. S. tries "not to indulge in . . . the promiscuous spreading of large amounts of major armaments around the world." The pious comment was made even as the U. S. was placing nuclear weapons among its allies around the world, and with huge piles of military hardware rusting in Taiwan and South Vietnam.

CLOAK AND DAGGER: On the same day that Dulles spoke, Chicago **Daily News** correspondent Keyes Beech reported from Sumatran rebel headquarters that he had seen sizable American arms being air-dropped over Sumatra. A rebel leader told him that this "manna from heaven" was sufficient to equip 8,000 rebel troops. **Taiwan, Australia,** Singapore, Thailand, South Vietnam and the Philippines were "suspected" as the source of the arms supply.

Beech found "evidence" that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was also involved in cloak-and-dagger operations in Indonesia. He said he knew the names of two "foreigners" who lived in a Padang cement factory before the rebellion broke out, "giving rebel officers advance information on what arms would be dropped and elementary instruction in their use." Curious local people "were told they were Dutch."

The Jakarta press had reported considerable anti-government activity by pro-Chiang Kai-shek Chinese in Indonesia, many of whom have been arrested and deported. Specially trained Chiang army men were reported to have slipped into Indonesia and obtained influential posts; among them were former Gen. Ma Su-lie, who runs the pro-Chiang newspaper, **Tiong Hoa Siang Po**; former police chief Tsai Yu Mei, manager of the Tay Tong (Great Eastern) Bank, and Yang Wei Pin, a shareholder of the bank.

The U. S. has often pointed to the importance of Indonesia in U. S. military strategy in Southeast Asia. **Times'** military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin noted that without Indonesian support Singapore, Malaya, Australia and the Philippines would be insecure in a strategic sense. He said: "The stakes in Indonesia are high enough to warrant strong action by the U.S. . . . to prevent the wholesale triumph of communism in the archipelago."

Lamont talks to youth in Los Angeles forum

YOUTH WILL POSE questions of today before a panel of eight local college and high school leaders and Dr. Corliss Lamont in a forum entitled, "Youth's Challenge To Our World," Fri., April 25, at the First Unitarian Church Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles.

SEARCH FOR TRUTH

The bomb and man's conscience

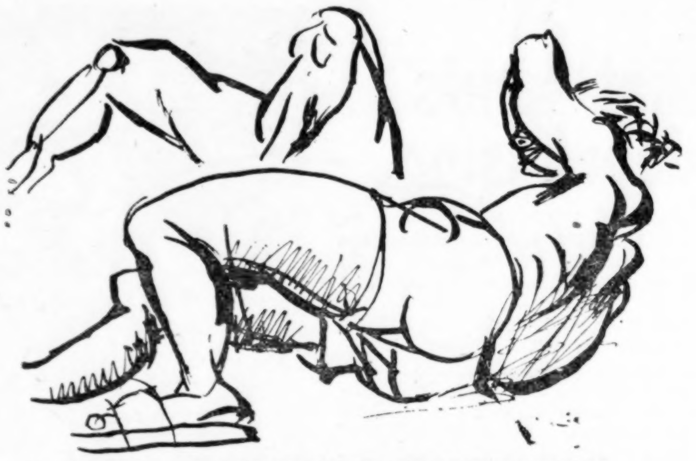
IN NOVEMBER, 1945, a distinguished British mathematician rode through the wreckage of gutted Nagasaki and heard the radio playing the tune: "Is You Is Or Is You Ain't My Baby?"

Jacob Bronowski was then Scientific Deputy to the British Chiefs of Staff Mission to Japan. As a result of his tour, he wrote the authoritative British report, **The Effects of the Atomic Bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.** But the experience stayed with him and has now produced more than an official document. As a scientist he took quite personally the question asked amid the atomic ruins: "Is you is or is you ain't my baby?"

He has written an eloquent and lucid answer to that song in this short essay,* reasoned with the neatness of a geometrical proof and illustrated by poetry and the drawings of William Blake. He begins by saying: "Nothing happened in 1945 except that we changed the scale of our indifference to man; and conscience, in revenge, for an instant became immediate to us."

IT IS PERHAPS typical of this most humane scientist that in that sentence he ignores a disconcerting bit of data. Conscience did not become immediate to all of us. After 13 years of reflection, Harry S. Truman, who ordered the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, said he had no qualms about it. Other men are busily preparing and testing weapons that indicate a much greater scale of "indifference to man."

JACOB BRONOWSKI
The scientist's vision



A BRUSH AND INK STUDY BY RENATO GUTTUSO

The glossing over of such unpleasant phenomena is the most serious defect in this scientist's beatific vision of the world. He denies that the scientist is merely a compiler of facts. He insists that the true scientist works to order the facts. Like an artist, says Bronowski, the scientist evolves concepts. These he comes upon in his "search for unity in hidden likenesses." Like a poet he works in metaphors and similes, but unlike a poet he must test each concept, each likeness to the physical world about him.

Bronowski envisions a society devoted to the pursuit of truth, encouraging independence of mind which alone can find the truth. The world, Bronowski argues, can be run harmoniously not by the gadgets science invents but by the spirit of the scientific method. He sees no need for some arbitrary, religious set of values: only the values which stem from the neat balance of a man's need for social existence and personal freedom. These values can be tested as a scientific concept is tested by inquiring whether they make for stability of society and the greatest amount of freedom. Such a society now exists, says Bronowski, in the international community of scientists.

NO ONE CAN DENY that Bronowski's world is neat, well-ordered and fruitful. The difficulty seems to be that it is not our world. It is probably true that many scientists seek to inquire freely into truth, seek to offer their colleagues the greatest respect and tolerance of their views. But there are significant exceptions. The pursuit of Edward Teller and his colleagues on the Atomic Energy Commission do not seem to point to truth. (A discrepancy in reporting the effects of a recent underground atomic blast came close to wrecking hopes for an international ban on testing.)

There are more scientists who serve political ends than there are politicians ready to serve the ends of truth and science. The world is torn by hungers for bread and freedom, that cannot wait the conversion of the world's masters to the scientific method.

Bronowski has conceived this bright vision out of logic and decency and a respect for mankind. He presents that vision clearly. The difficulty, it seems to a layman, is that it may not correspond to the tormenting data which clutters the world and makes it an untidy laboratory.

—Elmer Bendiner

**SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES, by J. Bronowski. Julian Messner, Inc., 8 W. 40th St., N.Y.C. 94 pp. $3.*

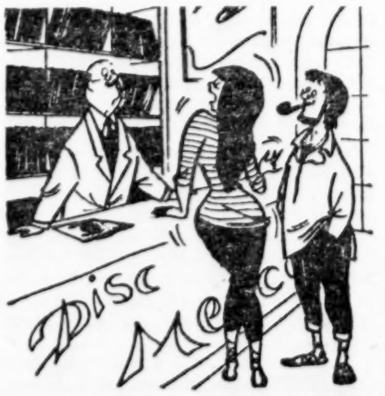
TO FORM NEW GROUP

Caricaturists to hold conference in Paris

THERE IS NO organization in the world which concerns itself especially with one of the most potent of the mass arts, that of the political and social cartoon and the caricature. A group of artists practising in the field have called a conference of their fellows for this May in Paris with a view to setting up such an organization. Herluf Bidstrup, famous Danish cartoonist, is acting secretary.

The conference will begin with a meeting at the Maison de la Pensee Francaise, 2 Rue de l'Elysee, at 10 a.m. on May 2, and continue to May 5.

Among other aims, they hope to start an international revue of caricature and social graphic art, make an annual selection of the best in these fields, set up a center with a library and distribution and collection services, and encourage scholarly and theoretical work on these arts.



Sie und Er, Berlin

"I don't remember the title, but it goes: tip tap tap tapita, tipa, tap, rack-rack."

Recessional

These are the years of glut.
Nothing down on your whale-tailed juggernaut
And all your life to pay for what you've bought:
Four-D Cinemascoop, the dollar magazine
With paralyzing chills in every issue
Perfumed dishwater, slick five-color smut,
Disposable money, flush it down like tissue.
Glut.
But watch that greedy gut:
Expanding girthrate, dividends and salaries
Quaff the malt-free beer that's low in calories,
Refreshes without killing
While hills of wheat by prairie roadside spilling
Nourish mold and mice.
Butter turns rancid in the cave
Billions of eggs entombed prove Malthus wrong
Soil-bank land lies bare of corn and rice
Capped is the well
Machines go dead as power is cut;
Waste is our virtue, abundance now a vice.
Full is the greedy gut.

Oh, everything's going great . . . but what
Is that cry that comes so feebly
Across the tracks, across the isthmus,
Across the tear-brined oceans -
Blighting our twelvemonth Christmas?
It is a child's cry: Listen!
Has he overindulged in food or drink?
Ask Spock: An Alka Seltzer or perhaps a Tum
Or Blufferin to soothe him twice as fast?
Why, it might be . . . but no.
Everything's going great and
Hunger is obsolete . . . but . . .

But guess what:
This is the Yankee Century, no joking!
New, softer than ever, that filtered bomb
Takes the FEAR out of smoking.
The shroud is off the cloud.
Invest in Vanguard, put your chips on Atlas;
It's longer, leaner, packed with power,
Slaughter on the children's hour;
Your confidence can restore the bloom
To our supersonic boom.
Gloom and doom? Forget that scuttlebutt.
Just spend, my friend: The reckoning comes never,
Diamonds are forever
And guess what:
Ike just sank a twenty-nine foot putt!

—John G. Roberts

2ND ISSUE OF 'DRAWING'

Examples of humanism in new art

FOR SOME 20,000 years or more the visual arts have been making direct and meaningful statements to all the people. Because of the subtlety and complexity of their subject matter, the sciences would seem committed to obscurity. But we now have a fantastic situation in which the scientists (as in the Bronowski book reviewed elsewhere on this page) are striving to explain themselves simply and clearly while all around us are visual arts which seem willfully obscure.

If the tide turns from this non-human esthetic, as it seems certain to do and as there are signs of its doing, the exceptions to artistic obscurantism will be recognized as more and more significant. The second issue of the publication **Drawing*** gives an excellent sampling of what the humanistically-oriented artists are doing.

At the modest price of $1.50, it offers 22 samples of Italian and 33 of American drawings, all by contemporaries and all well printed. The tired and overworked term "realist" does not describe these works. Something like "anthropocentric" —concerned with mankind—would remind us that, as in the long-extending past, artists can still speak to us about human interests and human beings.

ONE OF THE CONTRIBUTORS, Renato Guttuso (see illustration), is also having a big one-man show in New York City until April 28. His drawings and paintings fill two galleries, the ACA and the Heller at 65 E. 57th St. He is one of the most talked-about and perhaps one of the most significant of the left-wing Italian rebels against abstract academicism.

His shortcomings as well as his accomplishments—and he is a highly accomplished draftsman and painter—may call attention to how much remains to be done in re-establishing this art on a democratic basis. Like many others (including Picasso, in my opinion) he is more successful in his smaller works, smaller in the number of figures and relations involved and in size.

In all abstractionism and in too many anthropocentric works, there has long been a crisis of subject-matter. When the artist has not solved the problem of what the world looks like or should look like, he presents a confusing variety of appearances in different pictures and sometimes, when the work is large, there may be a three-ring circus in one picture. This does not give us arts we can respond to confidently and follow emotionally when we want to be shown how to live and feel in a culture hanging between microcosms and the cosmos.

IN SUCH SUBJECTS as rice pickers, cart drivers and the peasants of his native Sicily, Guttuso lets us know that his politically logical and his esthetic views are not far apart. Nevertheless, the greater success of his fine drawings (of which about 70 are on display) as with so many in the book mentioned above, reflect the solution of smaller and isolated problems rather than of the big one of the world as appearance.

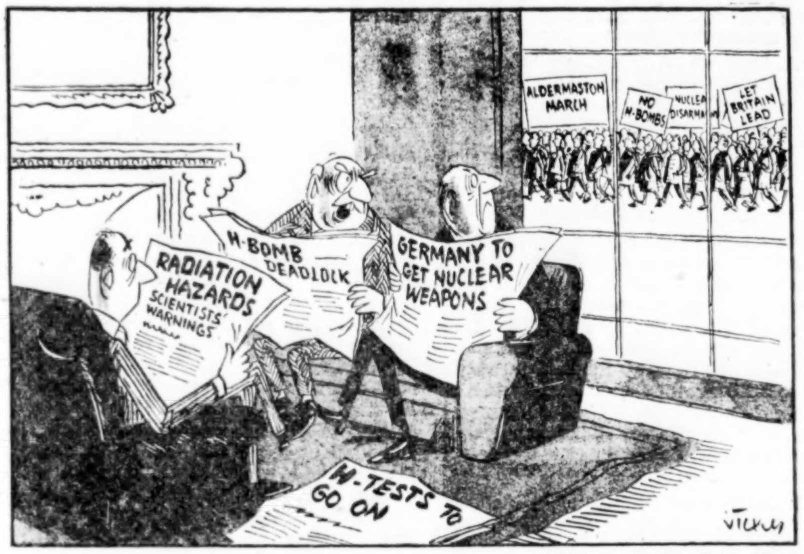
In the arts, of course, there are no final answers. Art is the search for satisfactory ways of feeling as simply as life is living. In the arts it is not having seen but the seeing, not having heard but the hearing that counts. Seeing and hearing deeply, we then go on seeing and hearing in richer ways. But the search is on and here, with Guttuso and the draftsmen, the answers are being forecast.

—Robert Joyce

**DRAWING NO. 2, edited by Bruce Duff Hooton, Daniel Brown and David Johnson. Broadaxe Press, 281 E. Broadway, N.Y. 2, N.Y. $1.50.*

To Aldermaston

(Continued from Page 1)



Vicky in London Daily Mirror

"Silly young fools! They've been told again and again there are no more causes to take up—like there were in the '30s!"

pack-toting young woman named Pat Arrowsmith, was calmly on top of her job from start to finish. The almost infinite variety of participants responded well to general directives.

'LONG LIVE LIFE': I started out from Trafalgar Square between a woman wheeling a baby buggy ("Daddy's meeting us at Albert Memorial with the bottle and lunch") and a pacifist who had hitch-hiked down from Manchester. Ahead was a group of "London Dancers" holding peace doves on sticks; behind, a tall gentleman with a haversack slung over city-style black coat and striped pants, and a little bearded veteran carrying a crucifix and explaining God's position on the bomb.

Along Piccadilly the home-made banners waved and danced along: "Join the march, save the world," "Highgate School 6th-formers for peace," "Long live life." The campaign insignia in many colors—a semaphore version of "ND" for Nuclear Disarmament—was borne aloft by hundreds of marchers. When the head of the column reached the wedding-cake memorial to Queen Victoria's Albert in Hyde Park, where the 4,000 of us halted for lunch, the last marchers had still not left Trafalgar Square.

PRESS COVERAGE: And so tramp, tramp, to Turnham Green for tea (contributed and poured by local supporters), and to suburban Hounslow where the local Council welcomed us for the night from a loudspeaker van by the road. Thousands stood on the sidewalks—some just staring, others waving or applauding, almost none showing hostility, some responding to our call to fall in with us. A householder at his garden gate said: "I'm glad to see the young people doing something. Maybe they've got more sense than we have."

Saturday's papers proved the unique space-getting power of walking for a cause, in Britan as in Alabama and South Africa. Beaverbrook's **Express** and a few others continued till the end to seek out and wildly distort "incidents" to denigrate the march—giving many marchers their first personal lesson in journalistic depravity.

But what stood out was the predominantly truthful reporting, especially by the pro-American **Manchester Guardian** and Sunday **Observer.** These papers were especially impressed by the performance of 700 marchers undaunted by snow and rain on the second day. In the end, the **Mail** was mixing praise with its jeers that the march was "terribly-un-English" (the **Manchester Guardian** called it "noticeably British.")

Reporters passing up and down the column interviewed American students, turbaned Indian Gandhi-ites, devout Catholics and Protestants, poets and clerks and trade unionists and prominent journalists from their own papers; a handsome crippled youth in a wheelchair, a woman whose elderly husband followed the march in a Rolls Royce. Most startling to the reporters were the hundreds of "respectable private persons making the first political gesture of a lifetime" (**Daily Mail**).

BEDS ON THE FLOOR: Rejoining the marchers on Easter morning with several hundred others, I found them assembling in the Thames-side town of Maidenhead. Dried out from Saturday's drenching and fortified with Maidenhead supporters' gift of coffee, the column moved off singing "We shall not be moved." At the lunch hour, we covered the village green outside the Seven Stars Inn and a newsreel crew cornered MP Stephen Swingler, and his golden-haired children for an interview.

Over 1,000 strong, the column now included scores of cars and buses carrying older folk, bedding, and tea urns. The command car boomed out messages of encouragement from the U.S. "walkers for peace" and West European anti-bomb movements. Reading accommodated us for the night on schoolhouse floors, with blankets—and beds for those with the sorest feet and muscles. At 6 a.m. a marshal woke us.

SILENT MARCHERS: The march through country lanes to Aldermaston was an unforgettable spectacle—and the entire population of the area, mostly farmers and their families, turned out to see what had now become every paper's headline sensation. Reinforcements were joining us, some from hundreds of miles away. By 11 a.m. the column stretched over the gently undulating landscape further than I could see both ahead and behind.

And so we came, now marching in silence, to the place where they make "our" H-bombs—a vast collection of modern and oddly-shaped buildings behind two rows of barbed wire, built unsparingly out of the taxes imposed on Britons every time they move.

Now the roadside was more densely lined with people than at any point since Trafalgar Square. Some 5,000 of them were anti-bomb campaigners who had come from London in the cars parked along the whole length of the plant fence. The rest were local people, almost all dependent on the plant which employs thousands from Reading and every intermediate community. Theirs were the blankest stares we had met with. They must have felt we endangered their jobs, having perhaps given little thought to the potential of nuclear power for peace.

THE PLANT OF DEATH: The silence eloquently expressed our unity as to the goal we sought. Perhaps, on this great trek for peace, a broader fraternization and understanding had been achieved in a week-end between many groups and philosophies than ever before in this land. But all knew that the search for a program of united action against death had only begun.

In the field opposite the plant of death we stood, sore-footed but content, listening to the words of an MP, a British and an American pacifist, and Pastor Niemoeller who had flown over from Germany. Then we said goodby to our good companions of the highway and dispersed to our homes. We all felt we had awakened a nation to the overhanging threat of doom. We left behind us a young man and woman standing with the marchers' insignia outside the plant gate, flanking a group of high police brass. Their vigil was to be maintained for a week, with relief picketers every four hours night and day.

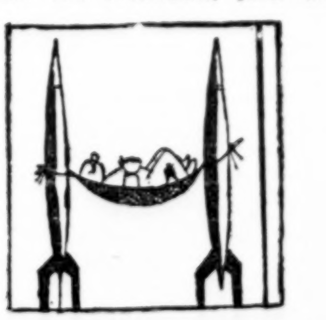
Next chapter in the story was a Trafalgar Square demonstration by 12,000 persons on April 13, called by the Labor Party to hear Hugh Gaitskell and Aneurin Bevan on "Stop the Tests Now." Many of the marchers talked of going with banners addressed to the former rebel, Bevan, who was reportedly kicking himself for a premature reconciliation with the right-wingers: "Come back Nye and all will be forgiven."

A NEW APPROACH: But for all cults of the individual in British politics the day was over. Cutting across parties and sects there had come into being the men and women who voted with their feet at Easter to "ban the bomb, not the human race."

After the march, "Aldermaston" delegations visited 10 Downing Street and the U.S. and Soviet embassies to demand an immediate stop to testing, storing and manufacturing of nuclear weapons. Macmillan was away, but the delegates were received by Soviet Ambassador Malik ("your demands and our position coincide") and a U.S. Embassy secretary.

The top-circulation **Daily Mirror** summed up: "The **Mirror** salutes the Aldermaston marchers, blistered feet and all. . . . At least they upped and did something."

So they did—and marching for peace may develop into a national habit before the next bomb-testing season rolls around. Only a new approach, the people feel, can meet this new and terrible crisis.



Humanite, Paris

That is a madly interesting point

The following letter was sent on April 10 to the Editor of The Times *of London:*

SIR: The main point of your leading article about Ezra Pound—that by liberating him the U.S. authorities would display both magnanimity and wisdom—will find approval in every political circle.

You suggest, as I understand it, that in equity and decency Mr. Pound's release should follow promptly upon establishment of the fact that he is "incurably insane"; and at the same time that in freedom he "might add to his literary reputation." This raises an interesting point, as to the place of incurable insanity in literature, which surely calls for more elucidation and discussion in your columns.

I am, sir, yours very truly,

Cedric Belfrage

SUNDAY, APRIL 20

N.Y. meeting to honor Warsaw Ghetto heroes

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising against the Nazis in 1943 will be observed in New York City on Sunday, April 20, 1 p.m., at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Ave.

The cantor Leibele Waldman will deliver the Memorial Prayer.

Simon Federman, speaking for the provisional committee which arranged the commemoration, said: "We recall the immortal will of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters 'Never to forget, never to forgive.' This was their vow against a recurrence of the scourge of genocide. Ours today is to save humanity from the scourge of H-bomb tests and war. We shall honor the memory of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters by working for the peace and freedom for which they gave their lives."

Poland will commemorate the uprising in a week-long series of tributes beginning April 19. There will be meetings, exhibits and trips to the former Nazi concentration camps at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) and Treblinka.

About that phone number for the Robeson party . . .

THAT BRONX celebration of Paul Robeson's birthday — scheduled for next Friday night, April 25, at Embassy Ballroom, 421 E. 161 St., Bronx N.Y.— has had such a rough time at the hands of GUARDIAN type gremlins.

In the first ad in the GUARDIAN, we got the telephone number for reservations wrong. In the next issue, we corrected the first error and made another. This time we have it right, we think. Meanwhile an alert member of the Celebration Committee called each wrong number and got the people at the other end to agree to direct the calls to the proper number.

Admission is $1.50 for entertainment, dancing to live orchestra, meeting guests of honor Eslanda Goode Robeson, Paul Robeson Jr. and author Lloyd Brown. Proceeds to Paul Robeson passport suit. For table reservation, try LU 9-4238. Good luck.

Sidney Roger receives Ford Fund fellowship

SIDNEY ROGER, San Francisco Bay area radio commentator, has been awarded a year's fellowship by the Fund For Adult Education of the Ford Foundation. Roger, who has been broadcasting for 17 years (at present over KPFA-FM) is also assistant to the editor of **The Dispatcher**, weekly publication of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He intends to spend the year studying in the field of communication at U. of California at Berkeley, with emphasis on the communication of ideas between union leaders and the members. For the last five years Roger has worked as a checker on the Bay Area docks. He is a member of ILWU Local 34.

The seven youths

(Continued from Page 1)

consequence: that a guilty-as-charged verdict, under the indictment's terms, would mean the electric chair for some of the boys, that more lives would be added to Farmer's in a mounting tragedy.

- They could consider the state of the city and the nation and look for the guilty parties beyond the court room.

They could seek the law's revenge for the murder of Michael Farmer or they could consider whether their verdict would help or hinder the battle against mounting juvenile delinquency.

WHOSE PROBLEMS? Asst. District Atty. Robert Reynolds on April 11 told the jury in his summation: "We here cannot solve social and racial problems. New York City is doing all it can to solve these problems. . . . You cannot go into these problems. "

He asked for the conviction of murder in the first degree for each of the defendants, saying that they are "all in the same boat." But he laid heaviest emphasis on two of the boys: Louis Alvarez, called the president of the Egyptian Dragons, though his authority seemed feeble at best; and Charles Horton, one of the Negro defendants. Alvarez carried a knife on that fatal night and Horton a machete, though both have denied inflicting the fatal wound.

At least one other boy, now in a reformatory, also carried a knife. The wound that killed Farmer could not have been made by a machete. A first-degree murder conviction, the jury knew—though they were not supposed to consider it—would require Judge Irwin D. Davidson to sentence the boys to the chair.

THE BACKWASH: Such a verdict would carry out the legal requirements of "an eye for an eye." It is also the theory held by the gangs, under which Michael Farmer was killed. The boys on that summer evening were smarting from a series of incidents at the pool in which their members had been beaten, threatened with guns and knives by the Jesters, a predominantly white gang, who had laid down a color line for the public pool at Highbridge.

Irving Mendelson, one of the court-appointed attorneys for 17-year-old Richard Hills, told the jury that perhaps the crime could be traced to the "backwash of the World War and the Korean War and the hopelessness of youth. Nobody mentions the Atom Bomb and the Hydrogen Bomb and the atmosphere, so poisoned, some feel, that we are about to die anyway." He asked the jurymen: "Divest yourselves of the era in which we are living." He assailed the hysteria of the press and those who recommend: "Beat the hell out of them. Kill them." The jury had a chance, he said, to rise above the hysteria and "set a record for American justice."

HIS OWN SON: Mendelson recalled that though the Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created equal, "they didn't regard the Colored as people. They were sold like horses. In 1865 they were freed — theoretically. But they're not freed yet." Hills is white, but the case has been overlaid with the bitterness of racial prejudice and discrimination that muddies the lives of all the boys. The lawyer told how Hills had been drafted into the gang. He talked of his own son. "I have a good kid . . ."—Mendelson knocked wood— . . . "so far." But if his own son told him of his predicament as a gang draftee, he could do nothing else but move from the neighborhood. He noted "the helplessness and hopelessness of the outlook" for boys in general. "Any day a 17-year-old boy might be learning to use an atomic weapon. Youth is troubled today. There but for the grace of God go yours."

WE HAVE FAILED: He warned the jury that the electric chair never deters a murder, just as hanging never stopped horse-thievery. He paid the customary tribute to the local courts but said that in another county "the all-American wise man who for years represented every criminal he could find" now advocates the chair as a cure-all. The reference seemed to point to Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz of Brooklyn, who has advocated the night-stick and the chair as a remedy for juvenile delinquency.

Other defense attorneys made a similar point in their summations. Albert Felix, pleading for Louis Alvarez, 17, said: "This is an unfair thing, that society is a defendant and also is sitting in judgment. We have neglected our children; we have failed to teach them to live with others who are of a different race, creed or color."

George Todaro, speaking for George Melendez, 16, said that adults were seeking to cover their own mistakes.

Judge Davidson took most of the day on April 14 to deliver his charge to the jury.

He singled out Alvarez and Horton telling the jury they could bring in a verdict of murder in the first or second degree for these boys, but ruling out such a verdict for the other five. For them the jury had to consider verdicts of manslaughter in the first or second degree, or acquittal.

At press time the jury was still out.

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Helen Sobell to speak in Detroit April 22

THE MORTON SOBELL case will be discussed by his wife, Helen Sobell, at a public meeting on Tues., April 22, at 8:30 p.m., at the Central Methodist Church, Woodward and E. Adams, Detroit. Mrs. Sobell will report on her husband's recent transfer from Alcatraz to Atlanta.

The national Sobell committee is engaged in a campaign to collect 1,000,000 signatures this year to a petition asking President Eisenhower to grant executive commutation or help secure a new trial. Michigan signers of the appeal include Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Prof. Anatol Rappaport, Rabbi Oscar Fleishaker and Mrs. Clara M. Vincent.

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NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

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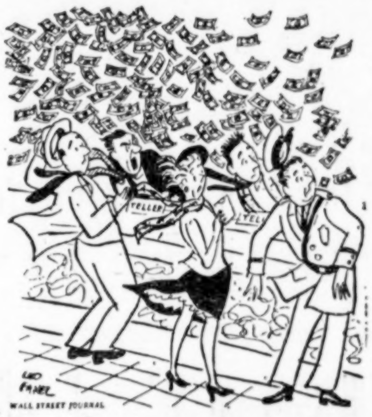
THE GALLERY

AT A RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE Secy. of State Dulles was asked if we would "eliminate from our atomic arsenal the megaton bomb and dirty bomb" when "clean" bombs were perfected. But in the official transcript, the word "dirty" was changed to "kiloton"—meaning a force measured in thousands of tons of TNT.

The reporter who had put the question queried the State Dept. about the change. He was told that transcribers at the conference had not been sure what word they heard and after conferring decided that it was "kiloton." At the reporter's insistence a tape recording of the conference was played and the word he had spoken was clearly heard as "dirty."

He asked that the transcript be corrected. His request was denied because, department spokesmen said, the slip "was an honest error."

TO VICTOR PERLO (GUARDIAN 4/7) the country may be in a depression caused by over-production, but for Rep. Bruce Alger (R-Tex.) the economic slump is the work of people "talking us into depression." As a remedy he proposes to tell Congress every day a humorous analogy extolling capitalism to laugh away "the prophets of doom." . . . Added to the formula is a pat on the back by L. E. Doyle, president of the Sales Executives Club of Los Angeles. He forecasts prosperity "created by men who decide to do a better sales management job." Techniques for the task are prescribed by Dr. Thomas Gordon, psychological consultant, who wants to train salesmen by acting-out and mutual analysis methods used in group therapy and at Alcoholics Anonymous meetings.



Wall Street Journal

"Shut that door!"

THE FIRST NATIONAL City Bank says in its newsletter that the slump can have its bright side. For example, it can help the unemployed by forcing them "to find or learn different trades." Also, it "tends to check the wage-price spiral and bolster faith in the dollar." . . . Harry L. Nutter of Boomer, W. Va., is a man with great faith but few dollars. He has been out of work since July 13. To dramatize his plight he flew the American flag upside down outside his house—the international distress signal. It brought him a lot of local notice, but no job. Shortly, representatives of the American Legion visited his wife and ordered her to reverse the flag; she refused. Next day the request was repeated by State police officers. He complied, but said: "This is a time of distress. Things are really tough for me and my family. I wish everyone out of work, who wants work, would do the same."

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT of alcoholism was explained to a group of businessmen last month at a luncheon given by the Natl. Council on Alcoholism at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. The lunch was preceded by a half-hour of cocktails. . . . Wayne Powers, a U.S. Army private, deserted in Germany in 1944 and made his way to France. He has been living there ever since with a woman whose five children he fathered. When the army apprehended him last month they committed him to a hospital "to give psychiatrists a chance to try to find out why he put love before war." . . . Falling attendance at movie theaters has caused owners to employ novel merchandising gimmicks. A group of theaters in New Jersey advertises "love seats" in their loges—a double seat with no separating arm. A drive-in theater in Houston, Tex., offers diaper service, a miniature railroad, a merry-go-round and clowns to amuse the children while the grown-ups watch the show.

A READER IN PASADENA, Calif., tells us to keep our eye on the House Rules Committee hearing on the free flow of government information for "pure comedy." The same mail brings a clipping from a reader in Paramus, N. J., on the same hearing which tells how the Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization was denied access to its own report because it was stamped secret by Dulles. The report criticized waste and inefficiency in the foreign aid program. . . . The American movie, "Little Fugitive," was given an award as the outstanding foreign film shown in Poland. . . . Maxine Sullivan has been elected chairman of the membership committee of the Coordinating Council for Negro performers. The Council seeks to "achieve total recognition of the Negro in the performing arts" and to "bring about casting of competent Negro performers in suitable roles." . . . Rep. Dixon (R-Utah) thinks that "the Russians have gone capitalistic. They offer an incentive for teachers. But we are too socialistic—we keep them all on the same level and don't do anything to bring out the best." . . . Tiffany & Co. in New York offers the "Schlumberger Pencil" in "ivory and 18-karat gold studded with coral, turquoise or gold beads" for $95-$125.

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

The unwanted child

Following is the text of a talk given by Charles Winter recently over Canadian radio station CJBC in Toronto:

WELL, ISN'T IT NICE. We can all breathe a sigh of relief. Ontario's Civil Defense Program is undergoing a major revision. Instead of having a program that is merely useless, now we are to have a program that is not only useless but is being planned that way.

Planning and Development Minister Nickle, of this Province, said recently: "The greatest danger in any nuclear attack is the large-scale outbreak of fire which would come with it." So, it seems there is to be greater accent on combatting fire hazards resulting from nuclear blasts in our Civil Defense program.

Oh, all kinds of plans are afoot. A province-wide radio system. Emergency shelters. Emergency water reserves. In this last connection, plans have already been drawn up to use city ravines as reservoirs by blocking them off with gates. But surely, if the city were blanketed by a series of nuclear blasts it would be a case of "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink." Or fight fires with.

A survey is being conducted to ascertain how many of the buildings in the city would be suitable for shelters. Based on the somewhat arrogant assumption, of course, that after the attack, the buildings would still be there.

PROVINCIAL Fire Marshal William Scott, who is to be appointed associate co-ordinator of the Province's Civil Defense program, has already "completed a major step in utilization of firefighting equipment by standardizing hose couplings across the Province."

Now, there's good news. Do you get the picture? The bombs fail. There's probably nothing left of the firefighting equipment but the tread on their tires; the fire hoses, with their carefully standardized couplings, are beribboned strips of jellied rubber. But through it all, through the holocaust and horror, there stands Mr. Scott, a standardized coupling in each hand, chin thrust forward, slowly flaking away into a tiny pile of ashes on the ground below.

There's no doubt about it. The news of those standardized hose couplings is certainly going to be conducive to more restful sleeping. Yes, indeed. And there's another statement of considerable interest in this plan.

IT HAS BEEN DECIDED that evacuation of Ontario communities in the main target areas may be ordered on short notice provided there is sufficient warning.

Now, what on earth does that mean? Evacuated? How? Where? Sufficient warning? Do they envision a night letter from Nikita or some kind of emissary from eternity?

All right, now. Suppose in half an hour's time, some bombs are going to land in our city. Suppose you have been warned. What are you going to do?

Well, you're going to decide on one of the 16 selected routes which are to be the main evacuation arteries in case of attack. Of course, you are going to decide rather quickly; objects travelling the Lord-knows-how-many-thousands-of-miles-per-hour through space do not allow much time for rumination. And, having decided, along with the other million and a half inhabitants of this area, which route you are going to take—off you go. Need I say more?

BUT, DON'T WORRY. If you don't make it to the first route before the bombs fall, why just gather up some legs or an arm or whatever else is missing and try another one. After all, there are sixteen.

Well, there you have it. Civil Defense in Ontario. And, welcome to it you are.

You know, what I shall never be able to fathom is the child-like innocence that protects people from the facts of nuclear life. The marriage of Naivete and Nincompoopery that begets the unwanted child, Oblivion.

But, make no mistake about it. Against nuclear warfare, as against the unwanted child, there is only one sure precaution: total abstinence.

What can you and I do about this business? Not a thing. Except to hope that those who can do something, those who can meet at the summit, for example, will hurry and do so, while the summit is still there.

1,000 greet Robeson in Chicago

Special to the Guardian
CHICAGO

MORE than 1,000 persons turned out to help Paul Robeson celebrate his 60th birthday here last week at a party under the auspices of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship at the gala celebration honoring him. Many in the overflow audience stood or sat on the floor. Several Negro leaders in the Chicago community turned out for the first time in years to greet Robeson.

Over 200 cables and telegrams, including one from Mme. Sun Yat-sen, came from all parts of the world. When Robeson rose to speak there was a standing ovation of several minutes.

Speaking of his development, he said that being an artist was not enough, that his role as "citizen" and fighter for his people was even more important. He emphasized that he had no apologies for his stand on the Soviet Union in the past years. He said that he had seen "democracy and dignity" there and that is what he is fighting for here for his people and all people.

The Council presented Robeson with a set of luggage for his "future worldwide travels."